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ART AND RELIGION IN THE WORK OF A.W.N.PUGIN:

A Study With Special Reference to Pugin's
Literary Achievement.

Thesis for the
Degree of Ph.D.
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Art And Religion in the Work of A.W.N.Pugin: A Study With Special Reference to Pugin's Literary Achievement. By D.Simpson.

Abstract of the Thesis:

In a General Introduction which forms the first chapter, the provenance of the ideas propagated by Pugin in his work, and of the European Gothic Revival movement in more general terms, is examined. The exchange of ideas between Pugin and his colleagues, and representatives of romantic and archaeological medievalism in Europe, particularly France and Germany, is detailed. Also early contacts with the Anglo-Catholic body at Oxford, largely through the mediation of A.L. Phillipps. Literary components of the Catholic and medievalist cause, which influenced events in the years immediately before Pugin became influential, are named. The Introduction ends with an outline of the form and argument of the thesis.

The second chapter, The Relationship Between Pugin and the Catholic Establishment over the Early Years, 1834-1841, covers Pugin's acquirement of scholarship and architectural facility in the years prior to his conversion to Catholicism; three early MS works and an early correspondence are cited. Two early groups of buildings, Mount St. Bernard and St. John's Hospital, form the basis for a discussion of the nature of Pugin's early commitment and work under Catholic patronage. The publications of these years, notably the famous Contrasts (1836, 1st. edition), are shown to demonstrate Pugin's state of mind and thought at this time. Finally, the events of the Catholic revival at this period, and Pugin's role in it, are outlined.

In chronological sequence, this process of exposition is continued in the third chapter, Pugin in His Prime - His Contribution to the Catholic Revival from 1841-1846. Not intended as a complete account of Pugin's prolific work output in these years, the chapter deals with the increasing importance of Pugin's commissions, but also with the growth of tension between Pugin and the Catholic establishment, initially over such local matters as the screen of St. Chad's. The limitations of the role of the architect in church-building are discussed. The point is made, that Pugin was in many ways a European, rather than an English, architect.

The Artistic Progression in Pugin's Work, 1835-1852, steps outside the chronological progression so far observed, to consider as a whole the important question of Pugin's artistic development. Major issues here are the element of change, and the extent to which change took place in Pugin's views; the use he made of craftsmanship and art-manufacture in the furthering of the Gothic Revival movement; the relationship established between artistic and religious issues. Pugin's key theoretical work from his early years, the True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841), forms the starting point for discussion. From the latter years of Pugin's life, a significant correspondence with J.D. Grace is introduced, which demonstrates the evolution of a new, modified attitude to large areas of his art which Pugin was developing up to the time of his death.

Chapter five again steps outside the chronological sequence to discuss another central theme; this time it is Pugin's use of his historical studies. The chapter is entitled, Historicism - the Contribution made by Pugin's Theory of History to his Work, 1830-1852. Pugin's knowledge

of the medieval period and the events of the English Reformation was extensive, coming from primary sources and wide reading. It is demonstrated how, all through his life, his expression of historical theory throws light on his other fields of interest in a valuable way as well as having intrinsic merit and interest. The notion of Pugin as an historian is one which has not previously been adequately noticed by critics; this chapter seeks to remedy this deficiency and treat Pugin's scholastic work with its due high regard.

In chapter six, The Role Of the Periodical in the Expression of Puginism, the chronological survey of the earlier chapters is brought up to the late eighteen-forties. This, however, is achieved by reference to such contemporary evidence as is provided by periodical publications, principally the Ecclesiologist and the Rambler. The way in which Puginism came to be disregarded by 1850, is told through examination of the former; the growth of specific and deep antagonisms and differences between Pugin and a large portion of the Catholic establishment, through the latter. Various other issues, as raised by the content of the periodicals, are also discussed in the course of the chapter.

With the trend of events in the artistic, literary and religious fields having been clearly outlined from 1830 up to the late forties, chapter seven seeks to draw the various threads together, under the title, Pugin's Unfinished Work - Including an Account of an Unpublished Manuscript. The major content of the chapter revolves around two related works, Pugin's Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy (1851), and the unpublished MS referred to above. His disfavour with the Catholic establishment is now clear, and reflected particularly in the historical content of these two works. The artistic advances of these years, pointing as they do to future developments in the art and design world, provide a counterbalance to the rather pessimistic religious

outlook.

Chapter eight has the title, Literary Qualities and the Sense of the Dramatic in Pugin's Writings - An Essential Addendum. It attempts to fill a considerable gap in Pugin criticism, by paying close attention to the mechanics and the nature of his literary achievement. This chapter constitutes the first sustained critical attempt to analyse Pugin's prose, in its different aspects of didacticism, satire, emotive appeal and propaganda, and to assess his abilities as an author. Two short stories included by Pugin in larger works (the first in a lecture published in 1838, the second in his Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, 1851), and two critiques which appeared in his Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England (1843), are among the topics dealt with in detail.

The Conclusion which follows summarises the scope and the content of the thesis, and makes necessary comments on the nature and extent of Pugin's achievement, his importance in his time, and his influence on the rest of the nineteenth-century. This influence is felt to be most profound in the fields of architecture and design, but since the importance of his religious beliefs as a formative influence in all his work was so great (and this includes the important literary field), it is felt that a full understanding of the religious commitment is a *sine qua non* to the Pugin critic.

In a short Appendix, the unpublished MS referred to in chapter seven is more fully detailed. A series of Illustrations, relating to early, unpublished MS designs by Pugin of relevance to the case made in chapter two, are added at the end of the thesis.

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Acknowledgement is due to Professor Phoebe Stanton of Johns Hopkins University, whose pioneering work in modern Pugin scholarship and in the location of much source material has been of the greatest help in the writing of this thesis.

General Introduction:

The Field of Reference of the Thesis:

Art, Religion and Literature: if one is to examine the life and work of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, then one has to think in terms of these three things. It is the aim of this thesis to deal with Pugin as a practising architect and architectural theorist along with all the subsidiary interests that this implies. One must include within that aim the realisation that his practical work was motivated by a complex idealism based on a love of two things: his interpretation of the ways and patterns of medieval life (particularly in the artistic field), which is what we understand as Pugin's 'medievalism'; and, allied to this, his concern with the reassertion of the faith of Catholicism in nineteenth-century England. Since the range of interests implied in these things is so far-ranging, it would clearly be a mistake to attempt to approach this study as exclusively an art-historical, or a religious, or a biographical problem. It is essentially composite and must from the very outset be treated as such. This becomes especially true when we remember that much of what Pugin had to say was said through the written word; he was an impressive writer and theoretician and, as will be argued later, a competent historian and even, on occasions, a convincing master of such an apparently unlikely medium as the short-story form. Here, then, is the initial justification for placing the less immediately apparent literary side of Pugin on a level with his other, more widely regarded religious and artistic preoccupations. For though many people have paid lip-service to Pugin as a writer, few, it seems on close examination, have really given his writings the close attention they deserve, beyond the limited number of aphorisms and controversial statements that everyone has come to associate with the name of Pugin.

My aim, then, is to see Pugin as 'Renaissance man', an all-rounder, master of many different arts; he designed, he built, he filled his buildings with his own fittings, he wrote, he researched and studied, he argued and he worshipped. Among lesser talents he indulged in practical philanthropy among needy sailors; ran a salvage vessel from Ramsgate harbour, and occasionally made considerable sums of money thereby; painted watercolours and submitted them to the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition; and travelled far and wide throughout Europe some years before this became the vogue for the Victorian architect (such as Sir G.G.Scott, who laid false claim to being an initiator of this practice).

All of this, Pugin achieved between 1834 and 1852. At the former date he became a Catholic and his real professional career was set in motion though, at only twenty-two years of age, he had already seen father, mother and beloved aunt, and his first wife, all die in the space of a few years and had been bankrupted in his own commercial undertaking. At the latter date, having seen the viewpoints he put forward achieve a peak of success then fall largely from favour, he died; his state, at the time of his death, was one of complete mental and physical breakdown. To say that a study of Pugin's remarkable career produces admiration in the student is really to miss the point; one does not admire, one wonders: how could a man live this way, even for forty years ?

Medievalism as a European Movement:

The topic of 'medievalism' has already been mentioned and it is apposite here to look more closely at what this term signifies; for it is a topic closely bound up with the whole history of the Gothic Revival,

of which Pugin formed an important part. Also, since the body of this thesis is to be very much concerned with events here in England, it is important at the beginning to realise that there was a very important European context to the subjects discussed, and to look in some detail at its foundations. Two important books have, in recent years, gone a long way towards establishing the international nature of the Gothic Revival: in 1965 W.D. Robson Scott produced The Literary Background of the Gothic Revival in Germany (Clarendon Press, Oxford); this, though dealing with only one European country in detail, gave clear indications that there was an overall European picture to be seen. Much more recently still appeared Georg Germann's The Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain - Sources, Influences and Ideas (Lund Humphries with the Architectural Association, London, 1972). Though I am indebted to both books in the comments I am about to make, the latter has been particularly useful in compounding and extending the views I had formulated prior to its publication.

Though the Gothic Revival and the idea of 'medievalism' are clearly closely linked, one can safely say that the latter had little to do with the first stirrings of the former, and only really came into the picture about the turn of the century or at the very end of the eighteenth-century. The consensus view on the origins of the Gothic Revival is that it was generated principally in Britain and developments here inspired further developments in Europe, particularly in Germany and France. The movement is remarkable for the way in which, all through its history, it combined literary and artistic manifestations, and its beginnings are no exception. David Mallet's The Excursion (1726) and Edward Young's Night Thoughts (1742-5) are seminal to the mood which gave rise to the movement. Ossian is, of course, a more famous instance

of the same thing, and significantly was if anything better received on the Continent than he was at home. Two other figures associated with the eighteenth-century origins of the revival also carry strong literary associations - indeed they are, in truth, more literary than architectural figures. These are Horace Walpole and William Beckford, the originators of Strawberry Hill and Fonthill Abbey respectively. Any history of the Gothic Revival would have to devote considerable space to the interaction, in these two influential men, between the literary and visual expressions and sources of their dilettantist theories. My point, in picking up so briefly a few of the salient points from the eighteenth-century history of the Gothic Revival, is to say this: none of the instances I cite relate, in any direct way, the Gothic Revival with the more stringent doctrine of medievalism. If one looks, let us say, at Beckford, one sees quite clearly that the medievalist interest is but one facet of a far-ranging intellectual curiosity that embraced also aspects of religious myth, orientalism, chinoiserie, mysticism, decadence pure and simple, and something of the Faustian sense. Looking from another, perhaps more familiar direction, one can see the same conclusion: the scholarly and antiquarian interests of the eighteenth-century, typified initially by the Rococo Gothic of Batty Langley, the sham-ruins of Sanderson Miller, gave way to a more deeply studied and researched regard for the original Gothic forms, and thus medievalism came to take over from a debased pseudo-medievalism in which other dominant aspects of fashionableness and the picturesque were mingled. John Carter is an early instance of the medievalist spirit emerging, and by the eighteen-thirties we are seeing men of the standing of John Britton, Ackermann and Rickman, and the elder Pugin. Our first main conclusion about medievalism can be that it strove to be a 'pure' idealism, and did not appear in the progress of the Gothic

Revival until very late in the eighteenth-century.

If England set the Gothic Revival in motion, there can be little doubt that Germany gave it the greatest impetus in moving on from its immature, eighteenth-century form to the fully realised expression it achieved in the nineteenth. An account of the events of the growth of German Neugotik in the early nineteenth-century throws up an amazing number of the great names of the German intellectual scene of the day, many of them names that are still universally known and respected - Goethe, Tieck, Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel, Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Sulpiz and Melchior Boisserée, Dr. Goerres, even Hegel, all these people figure in the tale. Taking as read the extensive commentary on the events of the years from 1800 to 1840 in Germany, as given in the above-named accounts of Robson Scott and Germann, I propose no more here than to add a few comments of my own.

The first attempt in modern criticism to link the important name of Friedrich Schlegel with that of Pugin came in 1943, with the following comment from Sir Nikolaus Pevsner:

The most potent source of Pugin's architectural theory is the militant Roman Catholic zeal of the recent convert. It has much in common with Friedrich Schlegel's, who was converted and wrote thirty years earlier, that is at a moment similarly crucial in the evolution of the Romantic movement in Germany as was Pugin's in England. Both derived strength and weakness of their positions (sic) from powerful religious feelings. And both had a love for everything medieval which was less the outcome of aesthetic delight than of a longing for unbroken universal catholicism. (Architectural Review, August 1943, p.31)*

* An article entitled 'A Short Pugin Florilegium' (op.cit.pp.31-4), written in the centenary year of Pugin's two works, An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture, and The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England.

This is only a brief mention, inspired by what amounts to a coincidence - that two such ardent Catholics and famous men should have been converts from Protestantism. But it is significant that the thought-link between the Germany of the first decades, and Pugin who flourished in the fifth decade of the nineteenth-century, should be made. I would like to add a little fullness to the idea of a connection between Pugin and Schlegel by commenting on the content of a work produced by the latter considerably less than thirty years before Pugin's conversion and rise to fame. In 1828 Friedrich Schlegel wrote his Philosophy of History *. This work originated as a series of eighteen lectures delivered at Vienna and later published; the lectures cover, in a broad sweep, the whole period of recorded or known history in the Old World. In Lecture Two, while still speaking in general terms, Schlegel advances the idea that, since Adam's ejection from Eden (while acknowledging the unsatisfactory extent of man's knowledge of his own origins, Schlegel retains this crucial part of Christian mythology), man has had theoretical control over his own destiny:

Regarded in an historical point of view, man was created free - there lay two paths before him - he had to choose between the one, conducting to the realms above, and the other, leading to the realms below; - and thus at least he was endowed with the faculty of two different wills. Had he remained steadfast in his first will - that pure emanation of the Deity - had he remained true to the word which God had communicated to him - he would have had but one will. (Philosophy of History, Bohn Library edition, p.89)

In studying the Gothic Revival, one is often forced to ask, particularly

* Published in Germany in 1828, the first English translation appeared in 1835; my quotations are from the J.B. Robertson translation which appeared in 1846 (Bohn Standard Library), improving on the earlier version.

with reference to Pugin, whether any stringent philosophical basis for this extremely strange movement can be arrived at. Schlegel, in this passage and in others, goes a long way towards acquainting us with a state of mind which could accept the theory of medievalism - of reverting to the arts and tenets of a bygone age, not merely in derivative form, but in outright imitation and emulation. In the Fourth Lecture, Schlegel seeks to expand his meaning. He is speaking of man's 'historical nature'; that philosophy of history, he argues, which seeks to see the history of man as a movement towards perfectibility, a gradual progression towards an ultimate, is not tenable. For the Eden myth, which Schlegel accepts, posits a beginning from, not a progression towards, moral excellence. So the view one must take is this:

No man who well knows that the image of God has been stamped on the human soul.....can ever forgo the hope, that, much as that divine image may seem, or may in fact be, impaired, its restoration is still possible. The man who knows, from human life, and from his own experience, how great and arduous is this work - how many obstacles oppose its accomplishment, and how easily, even after a partial success, what already appeared won may be again lost; - the man understanding this, will not be at a loss to comprehend any pause or retrogression, real or apparent, in the march of mankind; he will judge the fact with more equity, and consequently more accuracy; and will in every case confide in the guidance of that superior Providence, clearly visible in the regeneration of the world. (op.cit.p.209)

Man was created free and, says Schlegel, in agreement with all commentators on the human condition, he misused that freedom and stepped onto the downward path. But, says Schlegel then - and here is where the medievalist comes into the picture -, man has the image of God 'stamped' on his soul; and, 'much as that divine image may seem....impaired, its restoration is still possible'. Then he speaks of 'pauses' or 'retrogressions' in the 'march of mankind'. So the metaphysical view

of man's condition, as advocated by Schlegel, is that man began from perfection, a state of grace, and stepped down from that state; but he can, if he chooses, step back up again after a 'pause', or period in which mankind has been in a retrogressive state. If we assume, as Schlegel, Pugin or any medievalist did, that the period of the middle-ages was something of a Golden Age, and that civilised man had declined in his standards since the Renaissance, then the philosophy propounded above gives real justification for reaching back into the past, to the age preceding the degeneracy, in the attempt to re-establish mankind on the right path. Supplementary to this, the medievalist was prepared to compound the vision of the middle ages as an age approaching perfection, by indulging in the most equivocal of arguments. While speaking in his Twelfth Lecture on those peculiarly medieval Christian institutions which might be held up as models of virtuous organisations - Templars, Knights of St. John, the Crusades - Schlegel writes:

All these political institutions, I say, springing out of the nature and exigencies of their age, can be understood only by a reference to the circumstances and prevailing spirit of the times, and must therefore be judged as historical peculiarities... ..and we must not be astonished at this, since what is best and noblest in man-feeling and its divine quality is most easily and rapidly impaired, and may sometimes, indeed, preserve an external rigour, when it has undergone an internal change, and assumed a direction opposed to God and all goodness. (op.cit.p.350)

On the one hand this forms an incredible piece of tergiversation; on the other, it provides a valid philosophical footing for a movement which demands that a man should have deep and unflinching belief in the high quality of medieval life, even though he knows many of its practices to be rank with corruption. If we accept what Schlegel says here, then we can accept also that from the very beginning of his life as a Catholic Pugin knew of the corruption contained within the history of the medieval Catholic church; it is in the process by which he came

slowly, over the years, to dislike, reject and openly admit this corruption, that the interest lies. This process will be dealt with at length throughout the thesis.

Ambrose Lisle Phillipps as a Liaison Man:

At this point in the story, one needs to consider what possibilities existed for setting up links between the events on the continent of Europe, and those in England, in the years around the beginning of Pugin's career. It is clear that, until about 1840, there was little direct contact; such major achievements as G.G. Scott's success in the Nikolaikirche competition, or Clutton and Burges' similar triumph at Lille, were very much things of the future. It would, however, be extremely satisfying and valuable if one could establish the possibility of an interchange of ideas between countries prior to 1840, in the general areas with which we are concerned here. To begin to establish that such an international relationship could have existed, one needs to examine the relationship between Pugin and Ambrose Phillipps. This man's name often occurs in accounts of the events of Pugin's career and the Catholic revival at this time, but his exact role, his real contribution to the situation, is difficult to assess. I believe that role to have been an important one and it is therefore worthwhile to devote some space now to an account of him. Born on the 17th. March 1809 at Garendon Park in Leicestershire *, Ambrose Phillipps underwent while a

* For a full account of the life of Ambrose Lisle March Phillipps (known better as Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, though strictly he only inherited the right to that name in 1862) v. Edmund Sheridan Purcell's The Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps (London, Macmillan, 1900, known hereafter as LLAP), which was edited by Edwin de Lisle following Purcell's death. Purcell also wrote the Appendix on Catholic matters in Ferrey's Recollections of A.N.W. Pugin and his Father Augustus Pugin (London, Stanford, 1861), a Life of Cardinal Manning, and various articles.

teenager a rather florid process of conversion to Catholicism; Purcell records that, in 1823, Phillipps saw a light in the heavens and heard a voice saying, 'Mahomet is the Anti-Christ'; finally convinced by this that the Pope did not occupy that role, Phillipps felt that the last barrier to his conversion had been removed. In December 1825 Phillipps took his first Communion; some family antagonism resulted, but this does not seem to have been great and most of it died away when, a few years later, he married and thus removed the great family fear that he might remain celibate. One's impression of Phillipps is that his role in the Catholic revival, though an important one, was of prompting, rather than actually taking part in, events. One valuable early function, as it transpired, was being the immediate agent in the conversion of George Spencer, who was, in 1847, to succeed Father Dominic Barbieri as head of the English Passionists. Phillipps also provided for the establishment of a Trappist community at Mount St. Bernard, which will be dealt with more fully in the following chapter; and he played a large part in bringing Father Gentili of the Rosminians to carry out valuable missionary work in England.

These are real achievements, but demonstrate that Ambrose Phillipps tended to impinge on and direct the lives of other, more immediately active and important personages, rather than himself being actively involved in church politics. It is in this light, in the present case, that I wish to consider Phillipps. He fulfilled a valuable role as a liaison-man, both in England and abroad, in the formative years of Puginism. Inside England this is evidenced by his establishment of relations with the Anglican High Church party in Oxford from a very early date. In 1841 Phillipps tried, through the mediacy of John Rouse Bloxam, to set up a regular communication with the Newman party.

(John Rouse Bloxam should not be confused with Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, who produced the Principles of Gothic Architecture (London, Whittaker, Treacher and Co., 1829), which ran to eleven editions between 1829 and 1882 and grew from its original 79pp. format, to being a large three volume work.) He met with some success though, as a letter from Bloxam to him demonstrates, there was considerable hesitancy:

If I write but little in answer to your most interesting letters, it is because I am afraid, and have reason to be so. (Letter from Bloxam to Phillipps, 22nd. March 1841, as quoted in LLAP, pp. 209-10)

However, Phillipps did succeed in opening up a direct line of communication with Newman, though Newman was far from encouraging on the topic of a close relationship, at this stage, between Catholic and Anglo-Catholic. After one unsuccessful attempt, just after Easter 1841, Phillipps even managed to visit the Oxford men on their own ground and talk with them. But his chief role and capability, as intermediary rather than protagonist, is again borne out by the fact that it was Pugin who achieved a visit to the Oxford men, at Oxford, before Phillipps did himself, owing chiefly to Phillipps' efforts:

Mr. Pugin has gratified me, more than I can express, by his three days sojourning within our College walls. His conciliating manners and extensive knowledge of ecclesiastical and architectural antiquities have gained him the respect and commendation of all who have had the pleasure of meeting him. And though I am at this moment suffering from exhaustion produced upon a feeble frame by 'Thoughts that breathe and words that burn', I cannot resist acknowledging with grateful delight the instruction imparted by his drawings, lectures and conversation. To know such a person is indeed a privilege. (Letter from Bloxam to Phillipps, quoted from LLAP, pp. 227-8; the letter is undated but its contents reveal that it was written certainly prior to Easter 1841)

Whether the 'lectures' referred to here were formal, or informal, ones,

we are unfortunately not told *. That Ambrose Phillipps' role was to open up the possibility of communication with the Oxford men seems to be borne out by a letter to him from Bishop Wiseman, later in 1841, which suggests some form of semi-official policy within the Catholic church at this time:

I foresee that it will be almost necessary for me during the vacation to run to Rome. Indeed, I think it probable I shall be desired to do so.....I feel the serious responsibility of becoming (as I at the same time earnestly desire to become) the organ of intercourse between it and our Oxford friends. (Letter from Bishop Wiseman to Ambrose Phillipps, quoted from LLAP, 203-4)

This demonstrates that there was contact between Wiseman and Phillipps on the Oxford issue and would suggest that Phillipps was working towards some such definite end as I suggest, rather than simply being friendly towards the Anglo-Catholic movement.

This slight digression, into the role played by Phillipps as a liaison-

* Pugin's Diaries (now the property of the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, press nos. 86 MM 54-68, covering the years 1835 - 1851, with the exception of 1843 and 1846, which are missing) give more information than does Purcell on the chronology of Pugin's first contact with the Oxford men. In fact there were two visits, not one; the first, presumably a preliminary one, took place in October 1840; Pugin arrived on the 29th. from Birmingham, where he had seen Lord Shrewsbury. That evening, he records, he 'dined at Exeter'; on the 30th. he spent 'all day with Mr. Bloxam', and on the following day he returned to Birmingham. The second visit, the one referred to in Bloxam's letter, took place in February 1841. Pugin arrived in Oxford on the 19th.; the next day, he dined with Mozley, and on the 21st., with Newman himself. From Oxford he went, on Monday 22nd., to Birmingham and thence directly to visit Ambrose Phillipps, no doubt to impart a full account of his exciting few days. The Diaries, unfortunately, only offer the tersest and most factual account of Pugin's movements and meetings, and no other details than the ones recounted above are available.

man inside England now brings us directly back to the original issue, the question of contacts on an intellectual level between the currents of thought existing in Germany and France from the inspiration of men, some of whom I have named, and the medievalist movement as it was establishing itself in England. That Phillipps was involved in such issues Purcell has shown, by quoting the following from a letter which Phillipps wrote to Bloxam:

I hope myself to be the means of introducing to Oxford some foreign theologians, who I assure you, thoroughly appreciate the Catholic movement there, who admire your admirable treatises, who fully understand the difficulty of your position, who see that humanly speaking the great result to which we look must be distant, the fruit of much labour, much patience.....you will find me, and those whom I hope in a second visit to present, prudent and reserved.....(Letter from Phillipps to Bloxam, as quoted in LLAP, pp.203-4, dated 1st. Sunday in Lent, 1841; the underlining in the quotation is the author's, not my own, and this is true of all emphases in quotations throughout the thesis, unless the contrary is specifically stated.)

It is almost certain that Phillipps refers here to two French friends, who visited him in 1839 and again in 1841, the Comte de Montalembert and Lacordaire *. These two eminent men were enthusiastic supporters of the

* Charles Forbes René, Comte de Montalembert; his later publications included De l'Avenir Politique de l'Angleterre (Paris, 1856; also a translation published in London in the same year) and Des Intérêts Catholique au XIXe Siècle (Paris, 1852, and also a translation, London, 1852). That Phillipps' connection with Montalembert dates from prior to 1839 is shown by his translation of the latter's Histoire de Sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie, Duchesse de Thuringe (1207-1231) (Paris, 1836). This appeared as The Chronicle of the Life of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary (Booker and Dolman, London, 1839). Volume One was the only part to appear, the rest never being published. The Introduction to this translation contains a description of the imaginative impact of medieval architecture, written by Phillipps in a powerful, evocative style very similar to, and doubtless based upon, Pugin's own. Montalembert was also brought to the attention

(continued over)

the historical and quasi-historical traditions of Catholicism, as the evocative and personalised memoir by Montalembert of Elizabeth of Hungary demonstrates (v. footnote, preceding page). They agreed with Phillipps, Pugin and Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin's patron, in wishing to reinfuse that tradition and spirit into the nineteenth-century Catholic church in Europe. We see, then, without a doubt, that Phillipps not only established links of a constructive, intellectual nature with progressive Catholic thought in France in the latter part of the eighteen-thirties, he also took active steps to bring the High Church men at Oxford into contact with the views put forward by his French contacts. Similarly he tried to establish and extend links between his own friends in England, and the Catholic establishment represented by Wiseman, and the Oxford men. In these efforts he had considerable success; and likewise some in establishing links with German intellectual movements, though this

(footnote continued from p.13) of the English reader when Pugin's second edition of Contrasts (London, Dolman, 1841) quoted extensively from his de l'Etat Actuel de l'Art Religieuse en France (Paris, 1839) - v. the 1969 Leicester University Press reprint of Contrasts, Appendix III, 'Account of the destructive and Revived Pagan Principle in France, by Mgr. Le Comte de Montalembert' (pp. 76-95). Montalembert co-edited the periodical, l'Université Catholique (Paris, 1st. series, vols. 1-20, 1836-43; 2nd. series 1846-55) with many others, including Alexis Francois Rio. In 1844 appeared his Letter Addressed to a Reverend Member of the Camden Society on the Architectural, Artistical and Archaeological Movements of the Puseyites (3 editions, 1844, London and Liverpool, one naming J.M. Neale as the 'Member', in a slightly different title). From 1860 Montalembert wrote extensively on the history of Monasticism. Jean Baptiste Henri Lacordaire, though a great name later, had published at this time only his Memoire pour le Rétablissement en France de l'Ordre des Frère Prêcheurs (Paris, 1839). Pugin's Diary for 1839 records that on June 26th. he met Count Montalembert who was then staying in London. This may have led to the Appendix in the 1841 Contrasts being written, and it seems likely that Phillipps was the man who arranged the introduction.

did not come until a little later. The biggest single step forward here came in 1844 when, with his family, Phillipps set out on a protracted tour of Germany and other parts of Europe. Purcell records how, on this tour, Phillipps was overwhelmed by the awareness of the German academics and theologians he met, and their deep interest in and knowledge of such English events as the recent happenings at Oxford. He was particularly impressed by the stature of Goerres and scholars whom he met at Munich.

Pugin also must have contributed towards establishing these early links with European Catholics. Leaving aside the childhood visits to France which Ferrey records in his biography, the Diaries tell us that Pugin travelled to France in July 1837, spending most of that month there. Then in 1838 he embarked on a more adventurous programme; leaving London for Rotterdam on 25th. July, he went thence to Cologne, down the Rhine via Coblenz to Frankfurt, then spent a few days in ["]Nürnberg and Munich before continuing to Augsburg, Ulm, Friedrichshaven and Zurich. He visited the major towns of Switzerland and returned to England via Lyons, Paris and Rouen, sailing from Le Havre on September 10th.. One cannot know for sure what people he might have met and talked with on such trips for, as I have already commented, the Diaries he kept were far from verbose, although he kept them up conscientiously and accurately. We do know, however, that he was a scholarly man (more will be said on this score in the following chapter), we know he read the great Thiers *; we know that he also read A.F.Rio. He seems to have been

* Pugin refers to Thiers in his Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England (London, Dolman, 1843; from two earlier articles appearing in the Dublin Review, no. XX, May 1841, article II, and no. XXIII, February 1842, article III); v. 1969 reprint edition, Blackwells, Oxford,

versed in French scholarship of both his own, and the preceding century. We may therefore assume that he would have used his journeys, not only to enrich his architectural knowledge, but also his intellectual development. Many Victorian architects expatiated on the benefits of foreign travel; Pugin was ahead of them all in applying their homilies. His travels continued throughout his life, culminating in the long tour of Italy in 1847, when Pugin visited Rome and was received in audience by the Pope.

Ambrose Phillipps, then, was an important man in the progress of the English Catholic revival and in furthering the spread of Pugin's ideas, with which he heartily agreed. As early as the end of the thirties, he was actively engaged in liaison with interested, or interesting, parties, both in England and abroad. The direct evidence in these early years points only to France but Phillipps, like Pugin, had a scholarly and enquiring mind and would have absorbed the currents of thought emanating from Germany since the turn of the century. These intellectual developments I have touched on only briefly, for the works cited, by Robson Scott and Germann, provide a comprehensive account. Pugin himself would not only have relied on information and ideas relayed to him by

* (continued from p.15) pp.21-2 where Pugin writes of 'That great champion of Catholic antiquity, Father Thiers, who flourished during the last century', and cites in a footnote (p.21) his principal works. Alexis Francois Rio, who is also named above, is referred to by Pugin in the Preface to the second edition of Contrasts (1841). Rio had produced at this time two important works with which Pugin would have been familiar: these were, Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Esprit Humain dans l'Antiquité (Paris, 1830) and De la Poésie Chrétienne dans son Principe, dans sa Matière, et dans ses Formes (2 vols., Paris, 1836-55; known, in short form, as De l'Art Chrétien). An English translation of this work appeared in 1854 entitled The Poetry of Christian Art. Pugin, having a French father who had left France at the time of the Revolution, was brought up to be quite at home with the French language.

his close friend Phillipps, but had ample first-hand opportunity for obtaining similar insights and contacts himself, in his frequent visits to Europe. It is important, at this early stage of the present thesis, that one should be able to say that the theory of medievalism, though strange to our minds, was generated from various authentic and respectable sources and authorities; also that there was some machinery available, however impromptu, for its dissemination among the body of people with whom we are here concerned, the English medievalists who gave to Victorian architecture and design, and to the Catholic revival in England, such a sustained impetus over the years from 1835 to 1850. Pugin was the spearhead of this body.

Re-acceptance of the Medievalist Spirit in England:

It would be far from the truth to claim that the efforts made by Pugin and his friends on behalf of the medievalist and Catholic movement in England at this time were inaugural. Much work, both specific and general, had already been done in this area. It is with the latter case, the general movement which was apparent, towards acceptance of medievalist and Catholic ideas, that I wish to deal now. Phillipps' Trappist monastery of Mount St. Bernard, and his efforts to establish the missionary presence of the Rosminian and Passionist Orders in Britain, have already been touched on briefly; it was Pugin, as we shall see in the next chapter, who was the architect who helped Phillipps in such plans. But consider this: the building of a monastery, the establishment of communities, to be staffed and managed in the public eye by regular clergy of the Church of Rome, would not have been stomached by the Protestant population of England even a very few years previously. As things were, there were riots on a small scale; the monks of Mount

St. Bernard were forced to go without their habits when they left the monastery, at least in its first years; Father Gentili was pelted in the streets by small boys, and sometimes by grown men. But on the whole, so long as they were discreet, the monks were met with a good measure of tolerance which increased rapidly as the thirties passed into the forties. The strange fact is, that it was more of an artistic movement than a religious one which brought about this toleration at a popular level.

Until after the turn of the century, the 'Gothic' novel tended to play down any hint of religious issues. At the same time it worked towards the establishment of a definite code regarding 'historical' novel-writing. If we look back to Horace Walpole's Castle of Otranto, we see a work produced as rather a flippant attempt to deceive. The first edition pretended, by the production of an apparently authentic title-page, to pass as an old work; the deception was thin and transparent, for in the author's name chosen - 'Muralto' for 'Walpole', a pun of no great depth - the whole secret lay. But at the time it was effective. Then came Mrs. Clara Reeves' The Old English Baron, a Gothic Story (1777). These two novels share a real absence of medievalism; like the twentieth-century biblical or classical Hollywood film epic, they disguise a modish contemporary world-view with a caricatured setting and the more vulgar trappings of pseudo-antiquity. They lack serious attempts at characterisation and convincing plot structure. They are, on one level, enjoyable; but if we are honest we admit that they appeal to us more because we recognise and appreciate their importance as landmarks, than for any literary reason. William Beckford's Vathek, with its Faustian theme, is the product of a more powerful mind, though one shot through with the dilettante's desire to appear above commitment or identification. Beckford's turn to oriental origins is inspired by his

own predilections, but stands on a par with the 'medievalism' of Walpole. This novel appeared in England in 1786 and in France (it was first written by Beckford in French) in the following year. Mrs. Radcliffe's Mysteries of Udolpho (1794) serves to remind us that castle walls and family intrigue do not, ipso facto, breed suspense and excitement, and to read this heavy pudding of a book reminds us that, whatever their faults, Walpole and Beckford were at least readable and amusing. The novels so far mentioned share the characteristic of skirting any real contemporary issues which may arise in the course of their fantasising. The religious characters of Otranto are as neutrally depicted as the other characters and we are not made aware that, because medieval, they must also have been Catholic. Things are different in Matthew Gregory Lewis' The Monk (1795), where the anti-Roman call is heard loud and clear. But as the century turned, the historical form of the novel matured. Sir Walter Scott treated the past honourably, if with an excess of sentimentality. By 1820, in his sequential novels, The Monastery and The Abbot, we find a realistic treatment, both critical and sympathetic, of the role of the Catholic church and its high-ranking personages in the society of the day. In Scott's medieval novels, those who adhere to the Roman faith are certainly not applauded per se; but nor are they abused. It is shown that a Catholic, lay or cleric, can be an ordinary, honest, devout man or woman, no worshipper of superstition and idolatry, but as prone to error as the next man. Undoubtedly this treatment reacted on the attitudes and opinions of the novel-reader of the day, and began to permeate through society. A foundation of sympathy was laid which was to prove valuable to the early efforts of the Catholics, after the Emancipation Act of 1829, to re-establish the Catholic forms of worship in public in Britain.

The Triumph of Medievalism:

So far, two chief stages have been indicated in the development of medievalism within the Gothic revival movement. In the early, eighteenth-century, stages we see a non-specific turning to the past; this approach avoids contact with any real issues, either religious or artistic, concentrating instead on immediate visual or emotional impact and effect. Towards the turn of the century and particularly by 1820, authentic scholarly and archaeological medievalism is under way; also a public awareness of such allied issues as the religious question, and some measure of acceptance of the Catholic situation, has begun to develop. From the eighteen-thirties through to 1850, medievalism in many ways swung even further in the direction it was taking, becoming excessively scholastic, fussy and pernickety in the hands of such bodies as the Cambridge Camden Society and even, one might justifiably argue, Pugin himself. The Cambridge Camden Society, whose origins and aims are now well known to students of this period, exercised a strict censorship over the church-building revival and came to impose requirements in detail, revolving around adherence to the favoured 'middle-pointed' style.* Pugin, in his rigid adherence to both the spirit and the letter

* To touch briefly on a large issue, the views of two eminent Victorians are relevant here; in his History of the Gothic Revival (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1872) Charles L. Eastlake writes: 'There was but one style at one time - adopted, no doubt, with more or less success according to the ability of the designer, but adopted with perfect confidence and uniformity of purpose - untrammelled by the consideration of dates or mouldings, or any of the fussiness of archaeology, and maintaining its integrity, not by the authority of private judgement but by the free will and common acceptance of a people' (quoted here from Leicester U.P. reprint, 1970; Ch.1, p.2). This view of the spontaneous growth of medieval styles is in strong contrast with the conscious selection

of medieval practice in the arts, was arguably over-stringent in his requirements. In the long-term view, this disciplinarian attitude towards medieval art which predominated through the eighteen-forties can be seen as an advantageous event, in perpetuating a high standard in scholarship, research and care, begun by such men as Ackermann and Britton. In the shorter term view which is of more immediate concern here, it is interesting to trace a short period when advocacy of medievalism seems to have reached a fine balance with the requirements of contemporary life, making it a vital contributor to the current life-style. Again, this stage is more clearly observable in the literary than the artistic field; particularly in some of the work of Thomas Carlyle and the integration he achieved between medievalist and modernist elements in his work by juxtaposing the two in a pointed and systematic contrast. The most relevant of Carlyle's publications, in this context, is Past and Present, which employs, in literary form, exactly the device of contrasting which Pugin found so successful in his own most famous book. Carlyle lived for many years, from 1834, at Cheyne Row in Chelsea.

* (continued from p.20) process exercised by the Victorians, as depicted here by Sir George Gilbert Scott in a letter written to accompany his designs for the Nikolaikirche at Hamburg in 1845 (Personal and Professional Recollections, by Sir G.G. Scott, 1879, London; edited by his son George. The letter appears on pp.121-7, and this extract is from p.124): 'As, however, the gradual progression of ecclesiastical architecture in Northern Europe commenced with a style which was evidently barbarous but rose by degrees to the highest degree of beauty and excellence, and as unquestionably afterwards it became lowered and corrupted and finally extinguished, it is clear that it must have had a culminating point, and that there must be one period at which it had attained its greatest perfection. To ascertain this point with accuracy is an important object to those engaged in designing a church, which ought not to be less perfect in its character than corresponding works of the best ages of art.' Though unconvincing now, this style of argument was widely accepted at the time.

Pugin, having left his house, St. Marie's Grange, at Salisbury, also lived for a time in Cheyne Row * but there is no evidence that the two men ever came into contact. However each, in his own field, was enjoying a considerable and sudden popularity by the middle of the thirties. Carlyle published Sartor Resartus in 1834 while Pugin first came to public notice in 1836 with his Contrasts; after having published his Lectures on Heroes and Chartism in the interim, Carlyle produced Past and Present in 1843. In that same year Pugin's Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England and The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England were published, his True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture having appeared in 1841. By the early forties both men were enjoying success in their chosen fields. The portion of Carlyle's Past and Present which is of interest here springs from the account of Jocelin of Brakelond, a medieval monk. First, we should look to the account given by J.A. Froude ** of a trip taken by Carlyle in September 1842, from the 6th. to the 8th.; having worked for four years at his Life of Cromwell, Carlyle intended that on this trip, to Ely and its surrounds, he should survey the country whence Cromwell came. In the course of his tour he saw the St. Ives Poorhouse and, having returned to London, his

* On 29th. January 1835 (dating taken from the Pugin Diaries) Pugin bought land at Salisbury. It seems that Louisa, his wife, disliked this residence, St. Marie's Grange, which was built on the land. On Sept. 14th. 1837, the Diary records, 'Took lodgings at Chelsea'; on Sept. 22nd., 'First slept at Chelsea'; and on the 23rd., 'Mrs. Pugin arrived at Chelsea, 34 Cheyne Row'. On June 21st. 1841 the Diary tells us, 'Salisbury' - perhaps its eccentricity as a house made it hard to find a buyer. The family seems then to have lived at Chelsea until 1844; Louisa was in London when she died in August '44. 'The Grange', Pugin's Ramsgate home, was begun in 1843 and the Diary records frequent visits in '44 though actual residence began only late in the year.

** v. J.A. Froude, Thomas Carlyle, a History of His Life in London, 1834-1881 (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1884, vol. 1, pp. 275-8).

journal records that by October 25th. he was reading the Chronicle of Jocelin. One may infer that, having seen the helpless and hopeless poor of St. Ives, and primed with the words of Jocelin, Carlyle broke into his work on Cromwell to discuss, so feelingly, the issues raised by this new experience. He uses Jocelin's Chronicle as if its contents were very real to him. As for Jocelin himself, the minor medieval monk, he is 'one other of those vanished existences whose work has not yet vanished' - an anonymous but vital Boswellian figure. Carlyle used the medieval setting, the corporate life of the Abbey of St. Edmund's, the temporal problems of monastic life, the sometimes equivocal but always strong and determined efforts of the Abbot Samson to make his abbey prosper, to profound effect. The comment that Carlyle achieves on contemporary England, in the comparison of things past and present, is a powerful one. But Carlyle was not entirely happy with the means he used, or with the effects it achieved; he told his mother that he wrote Past and Present 'in a fiery strain about the condition of men in general', and commented in a letter to Sterling:

It is a moral, political, historical, and a most questionable red-hot indignant thing, for my heart is sick to look at the things now going on in this England;.....on the whole, I am heartily sorry for myself - sorry that I could not help writing such words, and had none better to write. (letter from Carlyle to Sterling, quoted in J.A. Froude, op.cit., vol. 1, pp. 285-6)

Though he had used the invocation of the medievalist spirit to such effect, Carlyle was troubled by the device he employed, as a later letter to Sterling further reveals:

My only consolation is that I am struggling to be the most conservative man in England, or one of the most conservative. If the past times, only two centuries back, lie wholly a torpedo blackness and dulness, freezing as with Medusa glance all souls of men that look on it, where are our foundations gone? If the past time cannot become melodious, it must be forgotten, as good as

annihilated; and we rove like aimless exiles that have no ancestors, whose world began only yesterday. That must be my consolation, such as it is. (Letter from Carlyle to Sterling, Dec. 4th. 1843, quoted from J.A. Froude, op.cit., p. 333)

It is most enlightening to see that, while disliking the intellectual basis of such a work as Past and Present, while questioning and mistrusting the use of the past that it involves, Carlyle argues that such links with and awareness of the past are vital, lest 'we rove like aimless exiles that have no ancestors' (Carlyle's emphasis). If we accept this evidence, coming from one of the most powerful and influential minds of the day, we are more easily able to accept that the nineteenth-century taste for medievalism was more than a whim or an archaeological fancy, but very much a part of the national awareness, the Weltanschauung of the educated mind of the day. Certainly Carlyle's clearly defined and explicit use of the balance between knowledge of the medieval past, and the industrial, dehumanised present and future bears this out. Carlyle would have rejected out of hand the religious argument behind Pugin's own brand of medievalism; but even so, and partially against his inclinations, he found himself using the same basic philosophy in one of his most renowned works.

Others, Pugin and the Camdenians among them, did not share Carlyle's doubt about the rightness of furthering the concept of medievalism in the contemporary situation. Medievalism enjoyed its fullest vogue in Britain between 1835 and 1850 even when, as in the case outlined above, the person responsible for advancing it had reservations as to the process he was employing.

The Idea of Change in the Catholic Revival, 1829 - 1850:

For Pugin, as has been said, the Gothic and Catholic revivals went hand in hand. But for the modern observer, such a simple analysis is both unsatisfying and untenable. Patterns of change during the period in question are profoundly important, and before beginning the detailed survey of religious and artistic issues in relation to Pugin's career, we should make a few general comments on this topic. Regency England was, by 1850, much further in the past than the mere passage of years might indicate; across the whole spectrum of human capability - social, humanitarian, political, industrial and scientific - large strides forward were made which, by 1850, had produced a recognisably 'modern' society. The Catholic and Gothic revivals took their parts in this progression, and this idea of change in the movements and events which are to be considered in the course of the present work is a seminal one.

My hypothesis is not an original one in its view of the life and achievement of A.W.N. Pugin; but it shows considerable modifications and, I hope, clarifications, of the traditional critical standpoint. These relate directly, in the main, to the concept of change in the first half of the nineteenth-century. The accepted view of the role played by Pugin in his lifetime, one might summarise as follows: having gained valuable knowledge and experience of his art in his formative years, Pugin turned in his early twenties to the Catholic church, and his real career of achievement stems from this conversion, which took place in 1834.* Quickly rising to prominence, Pugin was by 1840 an accepted and accomplished Catholic architect and a notorious controversialist in the

* Some difference of opinion exists concerning this date - v. the opening pages of the following chapter for a full analysis.

Catholic cause. He held the post of Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities at the College of St. Mary at Oscott, near Birmingham, and along with this the confidence of Bishop Walsh, the Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, and that of the rising star of the Catholic movement, Dr. Nicholas Wiseman; Lord Shrewsbury was his enthusiastic patron; fine early buildings such as St. Chad's at Birmingham, St. Wilfrid's at Hulme and St. George's at Southwark, were under way; Catholicism in England was making good strides forward. From 1840 to 1845, Pugin strengthened the position he had thus gained; as an artist he developed towards maturity; St. Giles' at Cheadle was built and finished in great richness, and St. Barnabas at Nottingham was erected. His domestic work also progressed, culminating in re-acceptance at the end of this period of commissions at the new Palace of Westminster. Also his most weighty publications appeared in these years - Contrasts (2nd. edition, much revised, 1841); The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841); The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture (1843); An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England (1843); Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume (1st. edition, 1844) - and he developed to the full his working methods, particularly his use of and cooperation with specialised craftsmanship firms, such as John Hardman and Co. of Birmingham, J. G. Crace and Son of Wigmore Street and Herbert Minton, of Stoke-on-Trent. By the later forties, however, illness, long a serious problem for Pugin, began to dominate his life; the work at the Great Exhibition of 1851 added to all the other strains of his life; his struggles to aid the Catholic cause were being met with opposition and disapproval from within the party, particularly from the now very powerful Bishop Wiseman. Many former friends and colleagues were dead, Shrewsbury only had a year to live. With the arduous Crystal Palace work over, and the Westminster project nearly complete, Pugin succumbed first to illness, then to madness, and died in September 1852.

The thesis which follows will not seek to question this outline; it will, however, seek to add depth to the comprehensiveness of our perception of Pugin's role and work, expanding the concept of Pugin living a life of change in a changing world. One paramount symptom of this will be, as will become manifest, that the thesis concentrates heavily on the two extremes of Pugin's career, the period around 1835 and that around 1850. These are the areas which have been less carefully handled by past critics and, more importantly, it is in these periods that one can best read the lessons and the failures of Pugin's life and theories. This is not to say that I underestimate in any sense the importance of the middle years; they were the years of solid achievement, the years when Pugin accomplished the work which was to give him lasting stature; if their importance should appear, in the course of the thesis, to be understated, let me reiterate now that this is entirely in the interests of a clearer promulgation of the hypothesis I am trying to put forward. Other critics, foremost among them Professor Stanton, the principal Pugin scholar of the present day, have gone to great lengths to research and present the full achievement of Pugin; I therefore have felt at liberty to assume knowledge in the reader of a good deal of material, and this has allowed me to concentrate on those aspects of the work of Pugin which seem important, and also imperfectly understood. This step has been taken, however, only after careful and detailed study of all available Pugin material and with the full conviction that the treatment of the topic which has been adopted is academically justifiable.

The principal modifications which will be proposed to what I have called the traditional interpretation of Pugin, are briefly as follows: firstly, that he will be treated, as has already been suggested, as a completely versatile man whose scholarly, historical and literary prowess must be taken into account equally with the more conventionally agreed

achievements in design and architecture. With this accepted, it is necessary to examine changing relationships and roles both within, and outside, the Catholic establishment. Evidence will be adduced to show the incompleteness of the interpretation outlined above. In the earlier part of Pugin's life, it is hoped that the following points will emerge: Pugin, in company with Lord Shrewsbury and Ambrose Phillipps, pioneered an innovatory movement based on Puginist ideas and using support both from within England and from Europe. This was initially successful, though from the very start some members of the Catholic establishment had misgivings and some, such as Bishop Baines of the Western District, never recognised Pugin at all as anything other than an upstart. From small beginnings in 1840, there are definite signs that Pugin's rapport with the Catholic establishment, in which Wiseman was growing steadily more important, was lessening. Moving to Pugin's later years, we see that the movement of rejection from within the Catholic party, which caused him so much distress, is traceable directly back to these early signs. Over the years, as opposition to Puginism grew, his supporters fell steadily away for various reasons. If we then look to Pugin's artistic development, we see an interesting complementary picture emerge; it will be demonstrated how, as his force as a Catholic figure became spent, Pugin was turning towards new and forward-looking design theories which, viewed retrospectively, link him with movements of the latter part of the nineteenth-century. Since such a highly desirable theoretical link as this has previously been made tenable largely by a slightly dubious and equivocal interpretation of the statements made by Pugin in the True Principles, this is a positive advance in the interpretation of Pugin's design theory. The link between religious rejection and artistic progress is to be found in the scholarly side of Pugin's work; studied closely, the development of his ideas, and particularly of

his historical views and historiography, forms a bridge between the religious and artistic progressions in his life, as well as having its own intrinsic interest. This unifying process is especially clear in the last years, when Pugin was hard at work for Sir Charles Barry at Westminster and on his own account at the Crystal Palace, and was becoming increasingly frustrated by the work brought to him in the course of his regular professional practice.

Such, in brief, are the hypotheses upon which the development of this thesis is founded. Before I conclude this introduction, it remains only to comment on the use made of primary source materials in the evolution of this work, and to summarise briefly the format of the body of the thesis. As much as possible of the argument and evidence is drawn from primary source materials: Pugin's designs, drawings, writings, notebooks, correspondences and publications, and those of his family, friends and contemporaries. In this context, considerable opening up of Pugin source material has been achieved, in that many previously unpublished and unquoted sources have been used (it is not claimed, of course, that these were previously unknown sources for much Pugin material is immediately available to scholars now, in public collections; much also does still belong to private owners, and in this field I have found it necessary to carry out careful searches to re-trace items which, by inheritance or other processes, have changed hands even in the past two or three decades; I do claim to have made greater use than has hitherto been the case, of these primary sources). It has been one of my major endeavours to assimilate a major part of the extant, but previously unused, material into a coherent analysis. Occasionally, this has led to certain emphases which need justification; for instance, in reference to Pugin's developing use of craftsmanship, I have chosen to adduce evidence

taken from his correspondence with J.D.Crace, where I might also have turned in part to the more widely known correspondence with John Hardman. The very fact of the Crace correspondence being, in past Pugin criticism, very much overlooked and undervalued, has here guided my choice, particularly in view of the most interesting content of the Crace letters. The family firm of J.G.Crace and Son, of Wigmore Street, London, ranked very highly in the story of Pugin's development of craftsmanship in the Gothic revival and has been treated by critics with less than the full credit and recognition which it deserves; an effort has been made in the following pages to redress that imbalance.* Much emphasis has also been placed on the account available to us from contemporary periodicals; again, my assumption in doing this has been that, though the periodicals are far more easily available to scholars than the primary sources mentioned above, the full story revealed by a careful analysis of content has not yet been told. As a contemporary account, this is most valuable; so a large proportion of space in the pages to come has been devoted to periodical publications. There is a great deal of material available on the events of these years, and on Pugin's life and work; accordingly non-duplication of previously published material has been uppermost in my mind, except where weighty

* The details of how the association began between A.W.Pugin and John Diblee Crace, son of John Gregory Crace, are not known for certain. It seems highly likely that it dates back to the previous generation when both J.G.Crace and A.C.Pugin, the fathers of the two persons we are here concerned with, were employed on George IV's alterations at the Royal Pavilion at Brighton. Crace handled much of the chinoiserie interior work while Pugin worked for his employer, John Nash, on the latter's Views of the Royal Pavilion, Brighton (1826). J.D.Crace, besides being an excellent designer and craftsman, was an extremely literate and intelligent person, a man after Pugin's own heart and, as their correspondence reveals, a respected and trusted friend for many years.

and vital points could only be made by referring once again to the well-known passages of Pugin's life; also I have felt at liberty to utilise the content of Pugin's publications freely, and have tried to throw some new light on their significance. In sum, it is my belief that I have introduced and put into coherent form for the reader, large amounts of new Pugin material; this, and the expanded hypothesis of the progress and scope of Pugin's life and work in all spheres, referred to above, give to the thesis its claim to originality in the field of Pugin scholarship and the history of the Gothic revival in the nineteenth-century.

The Form of the Thesis:

The thesis which follows is presented in seven chapters of exposition, plus a chapter of summary and conclusion. The general layout is based on a chronological survey of Pugin's life and work, but some chapters have a unifying theme which replaces this basic chronology. This introduction constitutes an additional, eighth, chapter. In chapter two, the early years of Pugin's career are dealt with in the context of specific pieces of work which are seminal to the development of his beliefs, ideas and design theories. This chapter seeks to present a fuller and more comprehensible picture of the young Pugin than has yet been given. The following chapter covers the already well-charted performances of Pugin in the prime of his life, from 1841 to 1846; much of the literary output of these years is left to be dealt with elsewhere under more specific heads. Then chapter four, entitled, 'The Artistic Progression in Pugin's Life, 1835-1852', steps away from the chronological framework so far adopted and seeks to set in perspective the design developments of Pugin's life, with particular reference to those trends

of his last years which, as observed earlier, were so important in assessing his position in the nineteenth century. Chapter five deals with Pugin, again outside the chronological framework, as a student of the history of the middle ages and the Reformation in England, particularly in relation to the history of Catholicism; this chapter also attempts to summarise the importance of Pugin's historicism and the effect it produced in his overall work. It is the most radical of my chapters, in that it deals comprehensively with a side of Pugin never before accorded by critics the status of meriting such attention. The points it makes, of an interplay between the various aspects of Pugin's character and attainments which produce insights into his work and standing for the student, are important ones. Contemporary impact is something that cannot be neglected; chapter six, dealing with various periodicals of the eighteen-forties in detail, attempts to make clear the steps by which Pugin and his supporters came to be very much a minority group by 1851. This chapter also serves to demonstrate the importance of literature in its various forms - the periodical being one - to the progress of the Gothic revival. The trends and developments which have been suggested and delineated in chapters three, four, five and six, are brought together in chapter seven, which is a study of Pugin's last years. The important concept of change is again much in evidence here; new material, including an unpublished manuscript written by Pugin in these last years, is also introduced. In chapter eight the chronological framework is again overstepped to discuss Pugin's development as an author and writer. His style and literary intentions are analysed in detail and the strengths and weaknesses of Pugin the writer are discussed. It is in keeping with the inter-disciplinary nature of this thesis, that such a study should be introduced. In the Conclusion the argument is summarised in its entirety and final comments and judgements are attempted.

Summary:

The medievalist movement which we see at its height in the work of A.W.Pugin had wide-ranging, deep and intellectually valid sources; these can be traced from many parts of Europe and particularly from the revivalist movements of France and Germany. It is important that we should be aware of the breadth of the Gothic revival movement, and of its importance.

In the Puginist movement which forms our immediate field of concern, the role played by Ambrose Phillipps was an important one, particularly in its early years. He, more than any other single person, contributed towards achieving some assimilation of the broader European view into the British situation in the eighteen-thirties. Though an equivocal figure in some ways, Phillipps justified his position in the Pugin circle by his role as a liaison man.

The literary sources of the Gothic revival in England do not bear much relation to the doctrine of medievalism, until the end of the eighteenth century. The same may also be said of the artistic sources which, in the eighteenth century, are compounded of elements such as dilettantism, followed by the growth of antiquarianism, but do not achieve the strength and integrity which could be felt in the medievalist movement by Pugin's time. Such topics as the development of toleration for the notions of medievalism, particularly its religious connotations, are important background ones. They are dealt with here in terms of such central figures as Sir Walter Scott and Thomas Carlyle. Progenitors such as William Beckford and Horace Walpole are also considered.

Turning to the structure and chief ideas underlying the present thesis,

two important concepts are those of change and versatility. It has been indicated how the relationship between Pugin's art and his religion was delicate and shifting over the short course of his career. Also how his versatility, his ability particularly in the fields of scholarship and history, formed a flexible link between these two fields. Thus, when his art and religion underwent changes, the barometer of those changes was often found in the historical scholarship, and the changes of interpretation visible in it. Whether this was a relationship of cause or of effect, is a question that will need further consideration. The possibilities inherent in this must be borne in mind during the reading of the thesis.

The Relationship between Pugin and the Catholic Establishment over the early years, 1834-1841.

The reasons for Pugin's turn to Catholicism need not greatly concern us; certainly, in the absence of detailed information on the events of his introduction to Roman Catholicism, any attempt to deduce accurately the reasons behind the conversion would be little more than speculation. But since I shall dwell at length in this thesis on the conflicts which were generated by Pugin's religious feeling it is only reasonable that, without stepping too far into the biographical field, I should mention external factors which would have exerted great pressure on him in the period when he was taken up with considering his movement towards an active religious life. It is therefore apposite here to consider one such major factor.

Evidence brought in the following pages will show that in 1829 Pugin probably took no special interest in the very live question of Catholic emancipation; but by 1834 he was ready to take the difficult step of becoming a Catholic. Of much that happened in the interim the following events are, on a highly personal level, important. Pugin's father, a man of no strong religious inclination, died in December 1832; in April 1833 his mother also died. Benjamin Ferrey tells in his biography of the ultra-strong Calvinist inclinations that she felt, but in the absence of extant evidence we are free to believe this or not. Certainly it seems a rather studied way of obtaining extra drama from an already quite dramatic situation. Prior to these two deaths had come that of Anne Garnett, Pugin's first wife who had died in May 1832 shortly after giving birth to a daughter, Anne, who survived. We know little of this first marriage but may safely assume that, despite its brevity, its end added greatly to the process of suffering and

emotional upheaval which these years brought to Pugin. Lastly, from one of Pugin's own early notebooks (Victoria and Albert Museum Library, press no. 86 MM 37, distinguished by the title on cover, CAEN OCTOBER 1823) we find that in September 1834 Selina Welby, Pugin's aunt and an important figure in his childhood, also died. There are no later references in any Pugin material which I have examined to any remaining family connections; so the impact of this succession of deaths, in removing all of his intimate family ties over such a short time, must have been a harsh one. This must be borne in mind in any study of Pugin's early years.

Once Pugin had entered the Roman Catholic church, however, the story speaks for itself. He then proceeded with a determination and energy which became typical of all his doings. The line he took was largely his own; and the chief aim of this chapter will be to define what this line was and how it accorded with or diverged from the wider pattern of the Catholic Revival in these years.

Medievalism was very much an emotional force, distinct from the spiritual force exercised by Catholicism and the intellectual force of historical and other scholastic studies and the acquiring of architectural knowledge. It is therefore appropriate to consider in this chapter, which must concern itself largely with formative influences, the nature of Pugin's attachment to medievalism and the force of its emotional appeal to him. In later chapters I will consider the acquired skills, the scholastic and artistic prowess which Pugin also brought to bear on his contribution to the revival movement.

Lastly, this chapter will discuss some relevant aspects of Pugin's early work; in the architectural field this will feature the two ventures of

St. John's Hospital at Alton and Mount St. Bernard at Charnwood Forest. These I will show to typify the distinctive turn of Pugin's early Catholic ideal; neither building, unlike the early parish churches he built, was either popular with or supported by the Catholic Establishment; each was a venture based on Pugin's own circle of secular patronage and built according to the special beliefs of that circle. In this sense these two religious institutions are unique in Pugin's canon. The publications of these early years, on the other hand, will be seen to show a more conventional viewpoint and an adherence to comparatively unexceptionable theories. It is largely the vehemence of their mode of expression that sets them apart and marks them as so distinctively Puginian.

Pugin's Conversion to Catholicism:

At the end of 1834 Pugin became a Catholic*. But what he would have called

* Gwynn (Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival) suggests 1833, but I think this is fanciful, as also is his assumption that Pugin met Shrewsbury as early as 1832; the whole tenor of this argument is to push backwards the date at which Pugin became a Catholic, but such an argument does not accord with the scanty available facts. Trappes Lomax (Pugin, a Medieval Victorian) suggests 1834 as the date, but with no authentication. Professor Stanton (Pugin) suggests June 1835 as the date but also offers no reasoning. Her source may be an entry in Pugin's Diary for 1835, at June 7th.: 'First assented (or assisted?) at Mass'. This is not conclusive as the bracketed reading is equally feasible and implies, not conversion, but the first actual assistance at the service. We know that Pugin did like to play as active a part as was possible for a layman in the performance of the rites of his church, so this would be a thoroughly feasible interpretation. What is more, there is an earlier entry for March 22nd. of the same year: 'Arrived at Sarum at half past seven (no priest at chapel)'; which suggests that Pugin was a communing Catholic at that date. The Diaries of Pugin to which I refer are only available from 1835 onwards; I am sure that had such a momentous event occurred in their currency Pugin would have mentioned it in their pages.

the 'Catholic spirit' ran through his work much earlier than that. Ferrey tells us of the early trips to hear the preaching of Edward Irving, to which Pugin was subjected by his mother; of how she was deeply involved in this harsh and bleak religious life; of how, he even implies, her death in 1833 removed a barrier to Pugin's actual conversion (v. Ferrey p.45). As I say above, the accuracy of this account is debatable; certainly the letter which Ferrey also quotes (on p.69) as written from Pugin's mother to Selina Welby, his aunt, does not show real signs of a dominant or repressive hand behind it:

From his works and his woes he has already experienced a long life, and when he dies he will not die without some dignity, and have his name perpetuated.

This she wrote when Pugin's first wife had just died. The letter bespeaks rather a sympathy with than a dominance over her son; and we must also bear in mind that Pugin was not the person to be dominated by anyone. If we move from these personal considerations to the earliest of Pugin's extant work we will find concrete evidence that Catholicism, or at any rate the 'Catholic spirit', was a real force as early as 1830.

In 1832 Pugin produced a short work, The Shrine, now in the possession of the Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum (Press no.86 ILM 14); this MS volume is a collection of drawings in red and black ink, with occasional use made of watercolour and gold and brief accompanying MS text. It was produced either purely for personal satisfaction, as a showpiece, or possibly for presentation like the series of idealised drawings of Grace Dieu Manor which Pugin later gave, in fine calf binding, to Ambrose Phillipps. The Catholic nature of this work is at once apparent* but I mention it here

* v. Illustration 1, at the end of the thesis.

also because, in an inscription on the drawing no. XVI, Pugin writes:

This work was designed to illustrate the splendour of the shrines formerly existing in France and England, and although the whole of the designs are entirely compositions of my own....the greatest attention has been paid to the character of the style....

This manifestly sets The Shrine apart from the exercises in draughtsmanship or observational drawing of detail with which Pugin had until then been primarily concerned; it is a work of Pugin's imagination and in it the setting he has chosen to represent is a Catholic one. Two similar works followed this one, in 1833 and 1834 respectively: a volume of designs for St. Margaret's Chapel, and another for St. Marie's College (not the real college of that name at Oscott, with which Pugin was later closely linked)*. The style of these three works is closely similar, and all include detailed designs for church plate and furniture of medieval Catholic form; it is apparent from them that the interest in Pointed detail which had been fostered throughout Pugin's youth had now developed some way beyond a mere stylistic interest. The function of the religious constructions and utensils which he depicts in these three groups of drawings clearly forms part of his motivation in so carefully producing them. In support of this one can turn also to the Designs for Gold and Silversmiths, one of Pugin's earliest published works issued by Ackermann and Co. in 1836. The first part of this consists of designs for secular plate in the medieval style, but the second is of church-plate obviously made in accordance with a Catholic view of liturgical needs. It includes a crucifix bearing the evangelistic emblems and with an ornate glory around the Christ; also chalices, altar-candlesticks, reliquaries, monstrances, paxes and a thuribulum which carries four angels on the base, four on the upper part, miniature turrets with four-centred arch designs and complex

* v. Illustrations 2 and 3 for examples of the style of these later volumes.

tracery patterning, the whole engraved and pierced. Some are fine pieces, most are not particularly so, but significantly they are all original designs; though published only in 1836, the date on the title page of this volume is 1830 and few of the designs date from much later than that..

There is, fortunately, one surviving collection of Pugin's correspondence from these early years which deals at least in part with his personal development. This is a group of letters written by Pugin to a friend, Edward James Willson*. That Willson was himself a Catholic is apparent from the tone and the frankness of some of these letters**. These letters are of prime interest to the biographer but worthy of mention here as they do throw light on the personal aspect of the Catholicising process as it affected Pugin. A statement made shortly after the death of his father records his new intention 'to devote myself entirely to the pursuit of Gothic architecture.....' but makes no mention of religious issues as being involved in this decision(v. letter from Pugin to E.J.W. 26th. February 1833). A year later however, Pugin can amuse himself with a sustained ironical discourse on the purgative qualities of 'bad'

* These letters are now in the possession of the library of the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore, who have generously provided me with copies.

** passim; but, especially, a letter dated January 1835, and consoling Willson on the death of a woman close to him (possibly his wife or mother) speaks of 'her sincere faith in our holy religion' (my own underlining). This also goes to confirm my view that Pugin was a Catholic by the end of 1834. Pugin also speaks, in a letter dated 13th. October 1836, of the debt he owed to Willson for his aid when he was in the long and difficult process of deciding to become a convert. That this was indeed a long process is confirmed by his writing: '.....the great change was not effected in me by any sudden impulse but from the deepest conviction resulting from long study and reflections on the subject....'. Pugin seems to have met Willson through the latter's work on A.C. Pugin's Examples of Gothic, which Pugin, as these letters show, continued for some years after his father's death.

architectural work and the sanative qualities of Gothic. I will quote this passage in full here because it is the first extant example of the fully-fledged Pugin that we know; the swinging attack is there, the complete opposition to all things produced from the Reformation and the half-hearted Gothic Revival of the eighteenth century, the nascent mood and style of all the Puginian argument and controversy which was to follow in the next few years. The only noticeable difference is that nowhere in this passage is the Catholic church mentioned or eulogised; but, as the reader will judge for himself, Pugin's move in that direction must be well under way, and the vital links between religious and architectural history have already been forged:

Amongst the rest I particularly recommend the following to your notice and imitation(sic):

on feeling the 1st. symptoms of a violent cold, read the sequestration of abbeys, destruction of chauntries under Henry 8th. Produces violent perspirations. Wrap yourself up warm read Civil wars under Oliver Cromwell, treatment of ecclesiastical edifices by Puritans produces blood heat, you rush out perfectly cured.

if feverish and pulse high a quiet walk in Salisbury, Norwich or Winchester cloisters about sunset. In about an hour you will feel perfectly tranquil. Pulse moderate.

for young persons inclined to stoop the roofs of King's Coll.

St. George's chapel, Henry 7th. chapel and many others are particularly recommended.

when the stomach is overcharged with bile. An examination of the works of Batty Langley, Wyatt's cathedral alterations, Bernasconi's plaster works*, Sir R. Smirke's Gothic designs, the new London churches. NB some of the above are much too strong for a single dose particularly when a copious discharge is not required.

* I speculate that Pugin refers here to the seventeenth century Lombard architect Giovanni Bernasconi; he is notable only for the sanctuary of the Sacro Monte at Varese, begun in 1604 and finished posthumously. Of this group of fifteen chapels André Chastel writes (Italian Art, Faber, 1963, p. 326) 'These strange little buildings are an extreme example of a popular and applied form of illusionism! This 'sham' aspect may be the source of Pugin's wrath.'

for Disorders produced by Violent Emotions $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour every afternoon at the choir door of York, looking towards the western window under the effect of a setting sun. Here the various hues will be so modified as compleatly to compose the patient.

These are only a few excellent receipts for various complaints.....

(letter, Pugin to E.J.W., 9th. Jan. 1834)

Later that year Pugin makes a more conventional statement of his new allegiance to the Roman Catholic church:

....I have long seen the fallacy of the new sects, and trust ere long I shall be united to the original true and apostolick church which suffers no change or variation. I trust no man will attribute my motives solely to my love for antient architecture, for though I will allow the change has been brought about in me owing to my studies of antient art yet I have still higher reasons which I can satisfactorily account for if required for my belief(sic), reasons which if duly and impartially weighed would operate so on the minds of all faithfull men that we should then have but one fold and one shepherd. (letter, Pugin to E.J.W., Sept. 1834)

Pugin goes on in this same letter to state his belief that the total conversion of England to Catholicism will soon come about through the weakness and division of all the protestant sects. It is a very rare case, where we find Pugin being prosaically earnest about his commitment to Catholicism; he displays humility without any of his usual bravado or endemic desire to continue the attack on his omnipresent opponents. With the writing of this passage, his conversion is complete. Even under the strength of this feeling, though, one notices small things; the 'ck' ending now appears in 'apostolick', as we are later to become so familiar with it in 'Gothick' and 'ecclesiastick'. Pugin has also begun to write 'antient'; these mannerisms, the detail touches of a total involvement in the medieval forms and styles of life as well as of art, are in their small way as much a part of Pugin as his religion, and it is interesting to see them coming into use for the first time here.* There is much more than this in the Willson correspondence but I have used it here only so far as

* This form, though widespread in the eighteenth century, and insisted on by Johnson, had by Pugin's time largely disappeared; his reintroduction of it was evidently a deliberate archaism.

it shows the process of Pugin's approach towards the Catholic religion.

The sum of this evidence, both in the personal and artistic field, is that Pugin began in 1830 or very shortly afterwards to develop seriously those interests and beliefs which were later to gain him fame. Prior to this, however, there is some reason to believe that his attitude to the Catholic revival was at least as cool and disinterested as that of most of his countrymen. The Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum holds a Pugin notebook (press no. 86 MM 13) to which their catalogue gives the title 'Notes Towards an Autobiography'. It is, indeed, a collection of notes made by Pugin on the events of the years from his birth in 1812 up to 1831. For the most part the entries are laid out as if in a diary. For 25th. April 1825 is noted, 'Duke of York presents a petition against Catholic Emancipation. There is no comment on the substance of this entry, and it reads quite as baldly as the adjacent, 'Monday, April 18th. Haymarket opened....'. Then come three further entries: 'May 10th. Catholic Relief Bill passed in the Commons'; 'May 17th. The Catholic Bill thrown out in the Lords.'; 'May 19th. The defeat of the Catholic Bill received with rejoicings throughout England'. There is no comment or addition to suggest Pugin's opinion on the events he records so matter-of-factly*. Nor are these entries made at the dates to which they refer; the paper on which this notebook is written bears the watermark date '1830', and since the entries run up to May 1831 and are uniform in their style and appearance, one may infer that they were all made at that date and are retrospective.

* This is not necessarily significant; Pugin's regular Diaries from 1835 to 1852 never reveal anything beyond the compressed factual account. Except for the occasional formal expression of joy at such events as the birth of a child, the only time when Pugin let his feelings obtrude in these Diaries came on Monday April 11th. 1842, when he wrote, 'Went to Strawberry Hill (disgusted)'.

However their general tenor seems to be towards the inclusion of events - theatrical, nautical, or purely miscellaneous - which were of interest to the adolescent Pugin, and not towards the inclusion by the young man of events which he now (ie. in 1831) sees as having been of importance to the developing youth. Thus the events of the movement towards Catholic Emancipation are recorded as events sufficiently dramatic to have created a stir as they occurred; but not as focal points of the young life of their observer.* So there is nothing here to suggest to us an earlier date for the beginnings of Pugin's interest in the revival of Catholicism in England. Unfortunately this notebook offers no entries for the vital year of 1829, the year of emancipation, so we can draw no inference from it.

It is important that we should understand, as far as we can, the genesis of Pugin's Catholic faith and, allied to this, of the means he employed to propagate it. Of prime importance among these means must be ranked his utilisation of scholarship and learning, which we may call his scholasticism. It is to this that I would like to refer briefly, before closing this section.

We know from various sources and accounts that in his late teens Pugin was very taken up with the work of theatrical set-designing; clearly theatricality always formed a significant part of Pugin's way

* The chances are that this notebook was in fact a fair copy of various notes, probably made contemporaneously with the events they record. It is difficult to see why else, for instance, Pugin would in 1831 have included such an entry as '1822 March 17th. This morning died Billy Waters, a beggar of notoriety in St. Giles' Workhouse', though it is easy to see the fascination of such an occurrence to a ten-year old. This also would suggest that the notebook of 1831 was a quite faithful record of the jottings of the boy, which bears out from another angle my similar point above.

of life; but, equally obviously, the ephemerality of most of his work at Covent Garden would not have satisfied the needs of the serious and religious man who had emerged by 1835. Nor would it have equipped him with the large resources of learning which we know him to have possessed. For the scholarship which Pugin demonstrated in the course of his career was a very different achievement from the painstaking amassing of observational knowledge which constituted his youthful study in architecture. When, then, was this considerable body of learning acquired? The sale catalogue for Pugin's library, which was auctioned after his death, reveals an extensive and erudite antiquarian and theological library. At an earlier date a notebook to which I refer briefly above (property of the Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum, press no. 86 MM 37 and with CAEN OCTOBER 1823 on cover) provides us with a book-list clearly noted down for the purpose of study or purchase*. It seems impossible that Pugin, once a man of repute, should have had much time for reading; he tried, as he says at various times in his correspondence, to set some time on those parts of Sunday when he was not involved in religious observance, for literary work - but then, this so often would have meant not the acquiring of knowledge by reading, but the dissemination of it by his manifold written works, articles and pamphlets. My own inference would be that by 1832 (the year of the Shrine) Pugin was fairly embarked upon a course of serious and sustained scholastic reading which he continued until the demands of his profession and religion left him little or no time to spare. Thus by early 1835, which we see as the year in which his life-work began,

* This list is as follows: Challoner's Catholick Christian, Lives of the Missionary Priests, Meditations; Bossuet's History of the Variations, Faith of Catholicks; Butler's Lives of Catholicks and Lives of the Saints; Daniel Rock, Hierurgia; this last appeared in 1834, so I take the list to date from shortly after that, i.e. about the time of Pugin's conversion.

Pugin was not only a practised designer in the Gothic style but also a widely read student of medieval antiquity and theology. Pugin himself gives corroboration of this in his Reply to Observations Which Appeared in Fraser's Magazine (published for the author, London, March 1837) when he writes:

Pursuing my researches among the faithful pages of the old chronicles, I discovered the tyranny, apostasy and bloodshed by which the new religion had been established, the endless strifes, dissensions and discords that existed among its propagators and the devastation and ruin that attended its progress; opposed to all this, I considered the Catholic Church, existing with an uninterrupted apostolical succession, handing down the same faith, sacraments and ceremonies unchanged, unaltered through every clime, language and nation. For upwards of three years did I pursue the study of this all-important subject; and the irresistible force of truth penetrating my heart, I gladly surrendered my own fallible judgement to the unerring decisions of the Church..... (op.cit.pp.5-6)

Which suggests just that period of intense intellectual activity to which I refer above, a period for mastering attainments such as Pugin was never again in his life to have the leisure to repeat.

Pugin's conversion to Catholicism was neither a blind, nor a sudden step; nor was it based simply on such visual impressions of the state of the ancient church as Pugin had, in the course of his work, received. There was also a solid intellectual basis for his religious feeling and this originated in the sustained and serious studies which he, of his own accord, undertook in the space of three years prior to his conversion. Beginning with a feeling for the beauties of the Gothic style this led, as we can trace through both personal and artistic sources as mentioned above, to a growing appreciation of the Catholic religion and finally to Pugin's own embracing of that faith. His first steps in the practical exercise of his art and religion I shall trace in the next section.

The Force of Medievalism in the Early Years:

Pugin's faith rested upon a basis of learning, both in the scholastic fields of historical and theological study and in the artistic where he gained his knowledge by a joint process of observation and study. But there was more to the total picture than this; there was also an emotive pull towards the aura of the Middle Ages, especially to that of the medieval church. This aura, or force, of medievalism acted strongly on Pugin all through his career but in later life became jaundiced by the machinations and political movement of the Catholic revival, into which Pugin was necessarily drawn. So we may see it at its clearest in the early years. My aim in this section is to define what I mean by this slightly inexact notion of an 'aura' and to examine the concept in the light of some chosen portions of Pugin's early work in different fields. If I suggest in what I say here that Pugin's notion of medievalism figured largely in the disagreements that developed later between him and the Catholic establishment, then this is all to the good as the issue of this later division is one that I shall dwell on in ensuing chapters.

To begin to demonstrate how this particular idea of medievalism differed from the scholastic and religious ideas and the appeal that they made on Pugin I will quote from the first lecture on Ecclesiastical Architecture given by him at Oscott College, which is in the main an appeal to his students to hold themselves open to the lessons that the Middle Ages could carry in modern times*. Near the beginning of this lecture Pugin says:

* Three lectures delivered at Oscott College were printed in the Catholic Magazine, New Series, beginning in April 1838, under the title 'Lectures on Ecclesiastical Architecture' and given by Pugin as Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities. These are three different lectures from the better known two which appeared as the True Principles (q.v.).

This study(ie.of medieval religious architecture),to the English Catholic especially,excluded as he is from those great churches which the piety of his ancestors had erected,must prove a source of great delight.Through the history of these venerable piles,he traces back the antiquity of the faith,and the discipline of the church,to the very period of its foundations; he dwells with intense interest on the long succession of holy prelates,whose progressive labours raised these enormous structures,- their munificence,their piety and zeal; he perceives the devotion and faith of the people,and the excellence which had been attained in art.(1st.Lecture on Ecclesiastical Architecture,Catholic Magazine, New Series,vol.II,p.194)

It will be seen that while the scholarly and erudite are included in this view of things medieval,they are not its exclusive content. The idealised vision which has been added to them is seen even more clearly in this second extract from the same lecture:

They(the ancient cathedrals)have been plundered and desecrated,it is true; but they have been the scene of the most solemn and holy mysteries: they have become the spoil of the hypocrite and the parasite; but they were raised by zealous and holy men,whose names are dear to the faithful - an Augustine,a Wulstan,a Waynfleet,an Islip. Moreover,their feet have trod these very pavements,and their remains still repose beneath them. Well,therefore,may we cry out, when looking on these glorious piles,'Their very stones are dear to us,though it grieveth us to see them in the dust.' From those very doors,now closed against us,has oft issued forth a long procession of holy priests; oft have the deep tones of the Angelus been sent from these ancient towers; and oft has their solemn peal ushered in some great festal day.....Does not the remembrance of these things endear to us these venerable churches? Does not the 'Orate pro anima',on that time worn slab,speak to the heart of the Catholic at this day,who,as he piously fulfils the humble request of the faithful departed,seems to hold communion with those ancient days of truth? (ibid ,p.197)

Here the emotional attachment to this idealised vision approaches,in the manner of its expression,the fulsome or even mawkish. But it is still clear to the reader that its basis lies in learning; it is above all an

informed emotionalism. It is to this aspect of Pugin's character and beliefs that I refer when I speak in the following pages of his 'medievalism'; it is a phenomenon inseparable from his historicism and religious erudition, as also from his artistic knowledge, but it has a definite status in addition to those attributes. That status is founded on emotional appeal.

St. John's Hospital and Mount St. Bernard:

Two early projects by Pugin, both of which were begun in 1840, can now be examined in terms of this principle of medievalism. St. John's Hospital stands spectacularly placed on heights above a deep valley; across this valley, and just visible, is Alton Towers, the home of John Talbot, 16th. Earl of Shrewsbury and Pugin's chief secular patron from about 1836 until his death in Naples in 1851. Not very far from this remote Staffordshire setting, in the quieter scenery of Leicestershire, is the Monastery of Mount St. Bernard, built by Ambrose Phillipps near his Manor of Grace Dieu.

The latter was the earlier conception, and the story of its founding is well known from other accounts; E.S. Purcell records* that in 1835 two hundred and twenty seven acres were presented by Phillipps to the Cistercian order, the site being in Charnwood Forest and having the added attraction of once having formed part of the lands of the original Cistercian Abbey of Garendon. The buildings begun here in 1840 were an enlargement of the very basic establishment set up immediately after the gift of land was made; they represented something

* v. LLAP, Vol. 1, Ch. 4, p. 66.

of a realised ambition for Pugin, as he had been greatly interested in this scheme since its inception but financial problems had caused the five years delay before enlargement became possible. As I have mentioned in my introductory chapter, the Trappist monks who inhabited the monastery were a contemplative order; they totally and successfully resisted Phillipps' efforts to involve them in his missionary ambitions for the area, maintaining their order's policy and rule of silence and of non-involvement in such matters. This was the feature of the Mount St. Bernard project which did not appeal to Lord Shrewsbury; for his zeal for building in the medieval style was tempered by a strong pragmatism. He asked himself with each new project, whether the amount to be spent on it was fairly justified by the impact its completion would make on the progress of the Catholic revival. What is more, his criterion for 'progress' in this context was a strongly humanitarian one, as he wished people to see that his religion was a force for good. So he wrote to Phillipps in September 1836, when it had been mooted that he should establish an institution along similar lines at Alton:

Could we unite the monks with an establishment of Christian Instruction? I am apt to think that a society of brothers for Christian Instruction, with almshouses for the poor old people, would be more useful than a regular monkery.....The new system of Poor Laws make it once more highly desirable to have almshouses where the poor old forlorn wretches may find a comfortable asylum with the benefits of religion instead of those horrid haunts the common workhouses. (quoted from LLAP, Vol. 1, Ch. 4, p. 69.)

These were the precepts which were utilised when Shrewsbury did begin, in 1840, to set up the institution which became known as St. John's Hospital. The building which he and Pugin intended (for, like Mount St. Bernard, it was never completed in the form Pugin envisaged) was to serve as a place for educating and caring for the local poor as well as fulfilling its religious purpose. St. John's came closer than

Mount St. Bernard to fulfilling the monastic ideal expressed by Pugin in the plate 'Contrasted Residences for the Poor', in the second edition of Contrasts, where he shows the 'Antient Poor House' as a profoundly religious and benevolent institution. But before accepting this as a criticism of Phillipps' efforts, we must remember that his efforts in this direction were partly defeated by the reluctance of the Trappists to break with their traditions.

Having now described briefly the establishment and aims of these two medievalised Catholic institutions, it remains for me to explain why I consider them to be worthy of special note in this discussion of Pugin's first years as a Catholic architect. They were attempts to establish communities of religious men in the medieval spirit and to reinstate in England the monastic forms which had long been repressed. Thus they exposed themselves to a great deal of public disaffection and even possible violent opposition, in the same way as the foreign missionary bodies who came to work for the Catholic cause in England at this time. But more important than these practical issues was the fact that St. John's Hospital and Mount St. Bernard represented an impulse from the field of secular patronage to influence the Catholic revival without real reference to the needs of that revival as charted by the Catholic establishment. They were very much 'family' affairs, conceived, arranged, planned and executed, as well as financed, by the Shrewsbury-Pugin-Phillipps triangle.* I do not mean to imply that their construction implied any sort of schism between Pugin's party and the establishment at this point, for this would be manifestly

* Bishop Walsh lent Phillipps money to facilitate the original gift of land (v. Gwynn, Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival, p. 27). This implies his consent for the scheme; but he was a notably tractable man in such matters.

incorrect. But when set against the growing need, for instance, to build parish church accommodation for increasing congregations, which was currently becoming a prime consideration for the Catholic authorities, the two ventures under consideration were aiming at far more romantic and idealised ends - romantic in the sense that they did not meet the immediate pragmatic needs of the Catholic revival. They were located in striking settings, and were propagating a romanticised religious conception, of the community of dedicated holy men. They were truly 'medievalist' in the sense defined above - that a strong streak of emotionalism ran through the rationalisations behind their conception.

Of course Pugin worked at this time on other building projects for the religious orders; in particular one thinks of the small Convent of the Sisters of Mercy at Handsworth, in Birmingham, for which he produced drawings in 1840. This, as Pugin records in the Present State (p.104, reprint edition) was erected jointly by Hardman and Shrewsbury. But it is a far less grand project than the two I have been considering and fails to make the point that they do. One might also regard the plans for the Benedictine Priory of St. Gregory's at Downside, near Bath (referred to, again, in the Present State, pp.105ff.) as being from the same mould as St. John's and Mount St. Bernard. But since the plans were not put into execution one cannot draw many conclusions from them. The conclusion to which one is drawn is that the two establishments discussed here are singular, both in Pugin's career and in the history of the Catholic revival. Ambrose Phillipps and the Earl of Shrewsbury, both men of wealth (or at least, good credit) and family, wanted to make grand statements of their religious convictions and ideals. It would be fair to say, even in Shrewsbury's case, that utility was placed second to effect. Their respective projects are unique celebrations of enthusiasm for the cause of Catholicism; for the reinstatement of those supposedly medieval ideals of human charity which, in concept, they represent; and

for a type of romanticism far removed from the hard grind of gaining and keeping converts to the Catholic cause. In short, they represent the triumph of that component of Puginism which I have referred to as Medievalism; this is what drew Pugin towards these projects and made him eager to be the architect of their construction, and is why they are important monuments to this phase of his career and beliefs.

Looking from another direction, one could say that at this time private patronage enabled Pugin to work out a theoretical scheme in a quite complete way; he was temporarily freed from the restrictive toils of having to produce a parish church which, however medievalised in form, was geared to the conflicting demands of growing congregations and small budgets. Not that I am denying that there were financial stringencies to be overcome both at St. John's and Mount St. Bernard*; but Pugin was free to relate a grand concept to a grand building and (this is the important point) that concept strayed beyond the bounds both of scholastic antiquarianism and of current Catholic pragmatism. Using this greater freedom, Pugin chose to produce as embodiments of his current ideal these two monastic-style buildings; and to attempt to reinstate a medieval life-style in a form which had long ago lost currency in Britain. It was a truly idealistic attempt, and one which Pugin never had the chance to repeat.

* Mount St. Bernard was in particular a tight budget building (figures are taken from LLAP, vol. 1, Ch. 4, p. 66ff); a letter from Phillipps to Shrewsbury, 23rd. August 1839, speaks of the monks having £400, '....and if £1000 or £1200 were added to that it would suffice not only to put them beyond the reach of temptation, but to make Mount St. Bernard as comfortable as it ought to be for Trappists, and a beautiful ornament to Catholicity in this country'. Shrewsbury offered £2000, but by October '39 Phillipps speaks to his father of £3000 as the amount involved. This may be the difference between a completion figure, and an interim one to make the place fit for habitation. Pugin, here as elsewhere, fostered the idea that one should allow for endless addition to plans.

First Publications - The 'Letter to Hakewill' (1835) and 'Contrasts' (1836):

In the same year as the opening of the initial small settlement at Mount St. Bernard, Pugin's first publication appeared. This was entitled a Letter to A.W. Hakewill, Architect, in Answer to his Reflections on the Style for Rebuilding the Houses of Parliament; and was printed and published for the author by the Salisbury firm of W.B. Brodie and Co..* The Letter to Hakewill stands well above the very poor average of the many other pamphlets written on the rebuilding and competition controversies surrounding the plans for a new Parliament building; not only this, it also stands above much of Pugin's later publications. For it exhibits a modesty and restraint in expression which he never again attained or even, I think, attempted. Doubtless one can attribute this restraint to 'beginner's nerves'; if so, one cannot help wishing that Pugin had shown some nervousness when writing his later works, for the result is pleasing. In my chapter below on the literary attributes of Pugin's writing I shall deal more fully with this point; here I wish only to quote his first public encomium on the Gothic style, made in reply to Hakewill's 'contemptuous epithets'. Gothic buildings, Pugin writes, were a phenomenon,

which, allow me to say, will ever remain the pride and glory of the epochs in which they were erected; and, when brought in fair comparison with any other style, must, in the minds of every impartial judge, shine with complete superiority, - the grandeur of their masses, the exquisite finish of their details, their bold and scientific construction, the light, and at the same time

* Pugin's Diary for 1835 (Victoria and Albert Museum Library, press no. 86 MM 54) has the entry for August 20th., 'Wrote answer to Hakewill's letter'. As published, the Letter is dated 18th. August. The inference must be that three day's work, part-time only of course, went into it.

solid,manner in which they are erected,- all must contribute to fill the mind of the beholder with admiration,and a profound veneration for the skill and perseverance of the ages in which they were erected.(Letter to Hakewill,p.6-7)

Here,even in this first publication,is the typical Pugin literary procedure.There is a statement of the values and virtues of that which he is expounding; often,as here,this is presented in persuasive terms,giving us a quick but complete account of the main features which will hold our attention when we admire a Gothic building. But always in addition to this account there is a strongly laid claim to our imperative support,as we are fair and just men: '...must,in the minds of every impartial judge,shine....'; nor can our support and praise be tempered, for we must be struck by the 'complete superiority' which 'fills' our minds when faced with these buildings. The literary procedure reflects the mental: how can Pugin,in his eagerness to make his reader love the medieval Catholic church as he loves it,let up by the use of anything less than a literary superlative the fight to win support?

A year later Pugin wrote the first version of Contrasts*,a work he had been contemplating for some time. This first edition of the famous

* Pugin's Diary for 1836(Victoria and Albert Museum Library,press no. 86 MM 55) records the date of publication as August 4th.. It also contains a list of initial sales,or orders,showing that of Publishers,Ackermann took 25,Weale 12,Williams 30; 8 copies went to Paris; the retail price of the edition was £1-11-6d,but people such as Hull,Talbot Bury and Grieve,whom Pugin had employed or knew,got copies at a reduced price of £1-2-6d. Whether significantly or not,Charles Barry,who had already employed Pugin a lot on the drawings for Birmingham Grammar School,did not qualify for this friends' discount. According to this list,he had to pay full price for his copy.

Pugin work follows quite closely the attitude to the spirit of medievalism that he had demonstrated in the Letter to Hakewill:

Yes, it was indeed, the faith, the zeal, and above all, the unity, of our ancestors, that enabled them to conceive and raise those wonderful fabrics that still remain to excite our wonder and admiration. They were erected for the most solemn rites of Christian worship, when the term Christian had but one signification throughout the world; when the glory of the house of God formed an important consideration with mankind, when men were zealous for religion, liberal in their gifts, and devoted to her cause. I am well aware that modern writers have attributed the numerous churches erected during the middle ages to the effect of superstition. But if we believe the great principle of Christian truth, that this life is merely a preparation for a future state, and that the most important occupation of man in this world is to prepare for the next, the multiplicity of religious establishments during the ages of faith, may be accounted for on far nobler motives than have been generally ascribed to them.

(Contrasts, ch. 1, p. 6. NB, for convenience, all page references to this work are to the 2nd. edition pagination of 1841, which is also that used in the 1969 Leicester University Press, Victorian Library edition. Unless otherwise stated, quoted passages appeared in both the 1836 and 1841 editions)

This is a reasonable demand on our sympathies; Pugin appears to be making no outrageous or extravagant claims, and is stating in large part a case for our support of the purposes of the medieval church. Our initial reaction is to be impressed, to acquiesce. The passage from Contrasts differs from the Hakewill extract in that there is no overt appeal made to a standard of judgement which, the author clearly implies, ought to be ours. Pugin speaks directly for himself, not for the imaginary 'beholder', the 'impartial judge', of the Hakewill passage quoted above; but it is still clear that we are reacting to an emotive, not a rational, appeal. Pugin was to become a more practised author than he shows himself in either of these two early works; he was also to become more involved in the exigencies and involvements of the

Catholic revival and the large part he played in it; but he was never to show more clearly the way in which his immense scholarship, architectural knowledge, historical knowledge and commitment to things medieval were subordinated, in practice, to the message of faith he wanted to put across. One can see this in the dogmatism of the passage just quoted. The force of the conclusion is quite out of proportion to the strength of its component arguments. But if one can look beyond these minor faults one sees an idealised production, both in Contrasts and in the Letter to Hakewill, which parallels the architectural process which gave rise to St. John's Hospital and Mount St. Bernard. It is not a process, let me be quite clear, which we can see only in the work of the young Pugin - indeed, I shall spend some paragraphs below in this chapter outlining one or two cases of its use at the end of his working life - but it is a process, I believe, which is clearly visible in these early works, unclouded by the tangled and complex problems Pugin was to have to fight against in later life.

Several times in the course of this thesis I shall have to make the case for considering Pugin's life and work in far more of an interdisciplinary way than has been previously done; I shall look quite as frequently to Pugin, the literary exponent, as to Pugin the architect; and I shall hold conclusions drawn from such sources to be quite as valid as those drawn from the artistic side of his work. Here we have a case in point: the literary approach to the passages I have quoted above, both on the part of the reader and the writer, is important. If we look to the intellectual content of what Pugin is presenting, of what do we find it to consist? It amounts to a request to the reader, immersed in a medieval setting, to accept one man's idealised vision of the feeling that a Catholic church should inspire in a modern man. As I have said in my introductory chapter, the extrapolatory procedure used in this context

can be quite acceptable. Thus it is quite valid to use a proven and successful moral exemplum, even if it is drawn from a slightly tainted source; by which I mean that Pugin can use the exemplum of medieval religion to carry his arguments, even though some of his readers will assert that the medieval church was not a completely moral institution. But if Pugin himself is not fully conscious of the procedure he is using, of the tightrope he is walking between his readers' acceptance and non-acceptance of what he says, then his arguments will fall down. For he will begin to make absolute claims for what can only be a conditional fact. Pugin could have used the evident fact, that any religious building is in part a demonstration of the faith, zeal and unity of its builders, to extract from his readers some more or less grudging admiration and wonder. When, however, he makes an absolute claim, as he tends to do, from such partial foundations, he provokes a similarly extreme response from his reader. This response, dependent upon the original prejudices of the reader, is likely to be a complete rejection of Pugin's case. This is particularly so when the issue is as emotionally charged as was that of Catholicism in 1836. The notion of medievalism as a valid and moral example to the contemporary world needed a far subtler handling than Pugin gave it in his early works, if it ever was to be successful. This is as true of the literary statement made by Pugin in writing Contrasts and the Letter to Wakewill as it is of the architectural statement he made, uniquely, in the building of St. John's Hospital and the Abbey of St. Bernard at Garendon.

Medievalism in the later years:

Medievalism in the form in which I have been describing it did not, of course, stop short when Pugin progressed to the later stages of his career, so there is a need to outline briefly the continuation of this

feature of his work. In the necessary interest of brevity I shall limit my examples to a few chosen from Pugin's publications, as the topic will recur throughout the thesis.

On Christmas Eve, 1840, Pugin wrote from Ramsgate to Lord Shrewsbury, who was wintering at Rome:*

I am working very hard at the article for the Dublin, I feel quite well again and my eyes are better. I am going to make great exertions this spring. My lectures are going to be published with illustrations by Weale of Holbourne. Dolman has purchased my Contrasts and is going to publish a new Edition in which I shall write a good deal of new matter and make some important corrections with copious notes. (Letter, formerly from the Collection of Lady Alford, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, press no.

Box IV 86 DD.)

I regard this letter as indicating a transition in Pugin's career; it mentions completion of the plans for St. Giles, to be built at Cheadle; also that good progress is being made at St. George's, Southwark, and St. Alban's, Macclesfield. St. Chad's, at Birmingham, is mentioned as being in an advanced state; Warrington has almost finished the glass there, and the cloth of Gold for the vestments is being woven. There is great enthusiasm and pride in the letter and it reflects clearly that Pugin has ceased to be a beginner, becoming a practised, busy and mature practitioner. By way of saying farewell to the period of youthful, highly idealistic activity which I have been discussing, he mentions also that the final step has been taken in relation to his work at Mount St. Bernard - he is sending the final accounts for its construction

* Although writing from Ramsgate, Pugin mentions in the letter that he has taken a house at Chelsea, overlooking the river Thames. He also announces his intention of selling St. Marie's Grange, his house at Salisbury which he left in 1839. It was sold in 1841.

to Lord Shrewsbury. As quoted above, the same letter gives information on no less than three of Pugin's most important publications, which he was in the course of preparing. The 'Dublin' (i.e. Dublin Review) article is the first of two written for that periodical (published in no. XX, May 1841, and in no. XXIII, Feb. 1842 respectively) which ultimately appeared as the book On the Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England (Dolman, London, 1843). The 'lectures' referred to are two which were delivered by Pugin in his capacity as the Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities at St. Marie's College, Oscott; they were published together as The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (Weale, London, 1841) (v. my footnote to p. 47 above). Finally Pugin mentions the second edition of Contrasts, or a Parallel between the Architecture of the 15th. and 19th. Centuries (Dolman, London, 1841). The letter I have quoted demonstrates clearly that although these three books seem to belong to Pugin's highly creative period in the early eighteen-forties they all date from considerably before that period (this is less true of Contrasts which, while based on the 1836 book, was extensively revised and modified). Thus it will not be at all surprising to find in them the same features as I have pointed out above as belonging to Pugin's early literary work.

Typical of this would be the following extract, from a completely re-written chapter of Contrasts 2 :

It is only by communing with the spirit of past ages, as it is developed in the lives of the holy men of old, and in their wonderful monuments and works, that we can arrive at a just appreciation of the glories we have lost, or adopt the necessary means for their recovery.....

Before true taste and Christian feelings can be revived, all the present and popular ideas on the subject must be utterly changed. (Contrasts 2, Ch. 2, p. 16; does not appear in Contrasts 1.)

This is a passage very much in the mode of medievalism which I have defined as being largely present in the Letter to Wakewill and the first edition of Contrasts. However, in the three works named above, such passages are certainly rarer than in the earlier works; the trend is towards exposition, towards the use of the extensive antiquarian and historical knowledge Pugin had at his command. He relies less on the emotive appeal.

Strangely, though, there is a reversion at the end of Pugin's life to the techniques he had created early in his career. This fact will be significant in the later development of my thesis, when I consider in detail the events of these late years. An Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy and A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts (both Dolman, London, 1851) are rich in passages such as the following:

What a perspective is presented to the sight, of successive pillars supporting intersecting arches, leaving distant openings into aisles and chapels! Then the chancel, with its stalled quire seen through the traceried panels of the sculptured screen, above which, in solemn majesty, rises the great event of our redemption, treated after a glorified and mystical manner, the ignominious cross of punishment changed into the budding tree of life, while, from the tessellated pavement to the sculptured roof, every detail sets forth some beautiful and symbolical design; how would such fabric strike to the heart of a devout soul, seeking for the realization of ancient solemnities! And is it not a case of gross infatuation for men professing the old faith to reject what we may truly imagine to be a revelation made by the mercy of God for the consolation of his servants upon earth, and to turn back to the old vomit of Pagan design, associated only with the infernal orgies of false gods and heathen corruptions? Does it not show an utter loss of all appreciation of the beautiful and the true, and a state of mental degradation as deplorable, as it is alarming in its practical results? (Treatise on Chancel Screens, p. 108)

Beginning with some grace as a panegyric soundly grounded on symbolic and iconographic fact, this passage then follows closely the procedure I have detailed above in relation to the Letter to Hakewill and Contrasts, 1st. edition; the absolute argument, based on decidedly non-absolute premises, is in evidence again. The emotionalism, coming at times even to abuse, is a dominant force over and above the historical and artistic background material, just as always when Pugin's medievalism dominates his learning and scholarship. This resurrection late in life of a technique which had been largely the prerogative of early publications clearly has many implications, the discussion of which is not apposite yet.

In all of the passages of prose quoted from these various publications of Pugin I have attempted to show the way in which an argument in praise of the high moral state and artistic excellence of the Catholic-centred medieval community is inaugurated with a factually based and impressive description which imparts to the reader the sense of a holy, reverent and authentic atmosphere. To this is then appended a plea for support and acceptance; the scope of the argument is thus extended, without logical justification, to carry a point of theology, or to encourage sympathy with the Catholic religion, when this extension is in fact far beyond what it will correctly bear. Often the whole process was sufficiently clumsy to cause the alienation of the reader from the argument; sometimes Pugin was deliberately provocative, at others he simply did not realise the offence his vehemence could cause. The result, in any case, was that the quite genuine emotional appeal made by the original panegyric to the reader was damaged. Behind these literary qualities there are philosophical implications. Pugin tried to extrapolate from his arguments, which were suasive, emotional and imprecise, a general theory which was of relevance to modern life. He showed himself unwilling to qualify the claims which

he was making by this mode of argument, so often his falsely absolute claims were absolutely rejected, causing in the process absolute fury on the part of the potential recipient. Significantly, this same admixture of acceptable and unacceptable argument is found elsewhere in the literature of the Puginist circle at this time. In 1841 the Earl of Shrewsbury wrote a public correspondence to Ambrose Phillipps, which appeared as A Letter Descriptive of the Estatica of Caldaro and the Addolorata of Capriana (Dolman, London, 1841). The two holy women were both said to bear the marks of the stigmata and to exist in a state of semi-permanent religious trance, and such respectable authorities as Dr. Görres had born witness to their genuineness. So there was, in 1841, sufficient interest in the issue to justify Shrewsbury's publication of his personal testimony on the authenticity of the dual miracle. Just as one admits that Pugin's account of the atmosphere of medieval life, based on wide reading and observation, is founded firmly on truth, so there was the real possibility that this miracle, so widely observed and reported on, could be based on truth. But the over-enthusiastic veneer added by Shrewsbury to the bare account of what he saw, gives a fabulous touch; the result is that the reader is turned away from what might have given him a deep sense of the psychological powers contained within the Catholic religion and available to those convinced of its truth.*

* The average, non-Catholic reaction to such an account may be judged from Lord Shrewsbury's Miraculous Virgins (Painter, London, 1843, reprinted from the Church of England Quarterly Review). This, a very dry review of Shrewsbury's account, seeks to establish a case against it by citing the proven falseness of the famous sixteenth century Nun of Lisbon case, and implying that all such miracles must be impositions upon a gullible people. The pamphlet very cleverly avoids the real issue of whether miracles really do occur, limiting itself instead to smearing all miracles of Roman Catholic origin.

The Progress of the Catholic revival, 1834-41 :

In the issue of the Dublin Review for October 1837 appeared an article entitled 'Pugin on Modern and Ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture' (D.R., no. 6, Art. IV, pp. 360-384 in Vol. III). From the 'General List of Articles' (contained in Dublin Review, Vol. 118, Jan.-April 1896, pp. 467-520) we learn that the author of this article was Dr. Nicholas Wiseman. Ostensibly it is a review of Pugin's Contrasts (1836) and A Reply to Observations Which Appeared in Fraser's Magazine.... On a Work Entitled Contrasts (Published for the author, London, 1837). In fact it ranged a good deal wider than this, and the following comments are of special interest:

Sometimes we are really inclined to suspect Mr. Pugin of more occult, but not therefore the less dangerous, malice. When we look at his 'Contrasted Public Conduits' (n.b. Wiseman refers here to one of the plates Pugin used to illustrate the 'Contrast' theme) we cannot resist the temptation of believing him to have in his eye a most wicked allegory. It is plain, that the beautiful, ornamental fountain, ever affording living waters to those that seek them, without effort and without price, symbolizes the old and generous religion, under whose domination it was erected; while the ungraceful, stiff, selfish-looking pump, with its handle chained down, and the child that comes for water, child and sent elsewhere by its legal guardian, the policeman, while a long list of fees for ecclesiastical rites stares from the wall, is no unapt emblem of the law-established church. (op.cit. p. 362)

Then in concluding his article Wiseman writes:

One concluding word of advice to Catholics. Let them profit by Mr. Pugin's book. Let them ever remember that good taste is a prerogative of their religion, that the arts are its handmaids, and that they will have to make a reckoning with posterity.... Let us have nothing that can be mistaken for a dissenter's meeting-house on one side, nor for a profane building on the other; but let all our churches be so constructed, that no

Catholic may pass them without an act of reverence, and no Protestant without a look of admiration. (op.cit. pp. 383-4)

The former of these two extracts demonstrates the glee that very many Catholics obtained, in these early years, from seeing Pugin singeing Protestant beards. It was a novelty, and a welcome one, to see a Catholic stand up and proclaim his own faith, his contempt for the Protestant faith, in resounding language; and to go on doing so despite the furor he caused. Pugin became a popular champion. The latter, on the other hand, launches us head-foremost into a consideration of the very complex relationships existing inside the Catholic church at this time.

Wiseman had been in Rome since 1818 when, at the age of 16, he went there to attend the English College; in 1824 he had obtained a highly distinguished Doctorate, in 1825 entered the priesthood and became appointed to the Chair of Oriental Languages. His visit to England in 1835-36 had been aimed initially at setting up a working relationship with Bishop Baines, the rather fiery Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, at the new establishment he was setting up at Prior Park. This failed conclusively, but Wiseman salvaged the visit to England by a brilliant and successful series of public lectures given in London. By September 1836, however, Wiseman was going back to Rome, and until 1840 was neither to hold an official position, nor be very influential, on the English Catholic scene. He was constantly manoeuvring in those years both to keep in touch, and to get back. In his reference, quoted above, to a necessary relationship between Catholicism and an interest in the arts, particularly church architecture, he manifests his keenness to keep in touch with developments on all fronts; but his statement was far from unreservedly true.

From the 1829 Emancipation Act the English Catholics had gained many

advantages over their former state; they continued to be ruled, however, by what was in effect a missionary prelate, lacking the status which an established hierarchy would confer. There were four Vicars Apostolic, and in view of the rapid increase in the numbers of Catholic congregations much energy was expended in the 1830s in the effort to increase this number. The story has been told more fully and more competently than I could tell it here; perhaps the most fruitful source is The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation, (Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1915) by the Right Reverend Monsignor Bernard Ward. This is an account of Catholic History, from emancipation to the establishment of the Hierarchy in 1850; though it is told sympathetically by a Catholic priest, blunders as well as achievements are recorded, though with a refinement that can make them difficult, at times, to spot. In 1836 real efforts to increase the size and status of the Catholic leadership began*; the Vicars Apostolic sent a petition to Rome in that year, particularly asking that the number of Bishops in England be increased**. Then came some interest from the Pope who wished to create more Vicariates, even to establish a new hierarchy, and to encourage closer contacts between himself and the

* For a full discussion of the events leading to the creation, in 1840, of the four additional Vicariates Apostolic, see Ward, The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation, Vol. 1, Chapters 8, 9, 10.

** At the time, Ward recounts, there were only four, and they were the V.As. In March 1833 Bishop Gradwell had died; in July 1836 Bishop Bramston, V.A. of the London District, died also. There remained Bishop Griffiths who replaced the late Bramston; he was an academic, his world being that of the seminary of St. Edmund's at Ware, and he proved to be unworldly and rather hard to deal with. Bishops Walsh and Baines, of the Midland and Western Districts respectively, I have already had occasion to mention; the former was as tractable as the latter was dogmatic. The last of the V.As. was Bishop Briggs of the Northern District. He initiated the call for expansion, as his district was the hardest hit by the stresses of the increased Catholic congregations, having both urbanisation and the influx of Irish Catholics to cope with.

English Bishops. In response to this Bishops Walsh and Griffiths set out in April 1837 to visit Rome. But what had begun so smoothly was not to come to fruition for three more tortuous years, a long tale of failures to communicate, and misunderstandings. One significant result of this delay was that a distrust of Wiseman (who played a large liaison role in Rome) became prevalent among the English Bishops (v. Ward, op. cit., p. 151). Only in July, 1840, were the formal briefs for the appointment of four additional Vicars Apostolic made out *. This coincided with Wiseman's return to England, for he was to be Coadjutor to the ageing Bishop Walsh, in the new Central District, and in June 1840 he was consecrated Bishop of Melipotamus. Since much of Pugin's work was done within the bounds of that district it was a noteworthy appointment; was Wiseman, in future years, to live up to the enthusiasm he had shown in his 1837 Dublin Review article? That question was to prove a crucial one.

Given, then, that much Establishment energy was directed, in these years covering the early part of Pugin's career, to the increase of its formal status and efficiency, we must now look at the other primary interests of these years, in the advancement of the Catholic revival. The first point of note is that a programme of church-building was getting under way. St. Augustine's, Tunbridge Wells, by Joseph Ireland (built 1837-8) was one of the few examples of Classical style building in this

* The four original Vicars remained, though Walsh took the renamed, but essentially similar, Central District, and Briggs the new Yorkshire District. The new Vicariates founded were: the Lancashire and Northern Districts (under Dr. George Brown and Dr. Weedall respectively) which, along with Briggs' District, covered the vast area of the former Northern Vicariate; The Eastern District (under the Rev. William Wareing); the Welsh District under the Benedictine order (in the person, initially, of Rev. Joseph Brown, Prior of Downside Abbey).

second quinquennium of the eighteen-thirties; becoming predominant was the Gothic style. The Church of Our Lady, Lisson Grove, London, is a good early example of this trend, built by J.J. Scoles in 1833-4 and singular in its coupling of the Early English Gothic form with plaster vaulting and cast-iron shafts. Scoles also built St. Ignatius at Preston (1833-6), this time using the Perpendicular style as his inspiration. By the time Pugin was coming on the scene as a practising architect the Gothicists were really going ahead in the stylistic race, though Classical churches such as Charles Day's St. Francis Xavier at Hereford (1837-9) did continue to be built.* By 1840 Pugin was establishing something of a monopoly in Catholic church-building circles; he had numerous churches under way or already completed - St. Mary's, Derby; Our Lady and St. Thomas of Canterbury, Dudley; St. Mary's, Uttoxeter; St. James', Reading; St. Alban's, Macclesfield; St. Chad's, Birmingham, and others **- all small or medium-sized churches aimed primarily at housing a growing congregation with some solemnity and sense of dignified worship; none of them high-budget buildings, none of them 'Gothic showpieces', but each a remarkable achievement in its day. It was not until some years later than this that men such as Weightman and Padfield, the Hanson brothers and others began to come to the fore.

Another significant and controversial move inside the Catholic church in these years, 1834-41, was the establishment of missionary bodies in

* For a useful summary of the extent of this Catholic building programme, v. Bryan Little's book, Catholic Churches since 1623 (Robert Hale, London, 1966) Chapter 4, 'The Gothic Tide' (pp. 66-78).

** Professor Stanton, in Pugin (Thames and Hudson, London, 1971) provides, pp. 196-209, a most useful chronological table which covers all Pugin's work.

England. In 1831 a man named George Spencer went to the English College at Rome and, while at Rome, met one Father Dominic Barbieri, a member of the Passionists. Spencer had been a Curate in the Church of England, but shortly after meeting Ambrose Phillipps in 1829 he converted to Catholicism. That move, and his meeting with Barbieri, marked the beginning of an important series of events in which Spencer and Ambrose Phillipps, the close friend of Pugin, played leading parts.

Some years after this, in 1835, Father Gentili came to England and quickly took up residence at Bishop Baines' Prior Park, with the title of Vice-Rector and Spiritual Director. Gentili was a member of the Institute of Charity, otherwise known as the Rosminians, an order so new that it had not yet been formally approved, at this time, by the Pope. Ambrose Phillipps had been the first to try to get Gentili to England, but he had failed; a Cornish squire, Trelawney, invited Gentili in 1834 but then died; it was left to Baines to actually take up this invitation and receive Gentili in the following year. It was a move he was to regret; when Baines fell out with Wiseman in that same year, the Passionist priest was one of the bones of contention. He had 'Romanised' the formerly stiff and unenthusiastic observances at Prior Park, a move which the Rome-educated Wiseman had approved, but Bishop Baines certainly had not. So Gentili followed on Wiseman's heels, at Baines' instigation, back to Rome. But in Barbieri and Gentili two important people had been introduced to England, and the first man to take an interest in either had been the stout supporter of Pugin, Ambrose Phillipps.

In 1838 Spencer and Phillipps initiated, beginning at Paris, a Crusade

of Universal Prayer, the intention being that members of the Catholic church in Europe should combine in prayers for the conversion of England. Though there was support for this move in Europe, there was little in England; Walsh, of the four Vicars Apostolic, was the only one to give the idea his support. Bishops Briggs and Baines were not sympathetic, the latter possibly influenced by the fact that Wiseman was enthusiastic; Bishop Griffiths also was cool. The important feature of the Crusade was that its avowed end was the total conversion of the whole population of England; Baines, in his Lenten Pastoral of 1840, opposed this notion thoroughly, so thoroughly that he was summoned to Rome to answer to the Pope for his seeming lack of faith in and devotion to the Holy See.

In January 1839 Phillipps and Spencer petitioned the General Chapter of Passionists to allow Barbieri to come to England; but - and there is the possibility that at this point the English Episcopacy used some influence - he was sent instead to a post in Italy. By 1840, though, he was back in Belgium and keeping watch for a chance to come over to England. By 1840 also, Gentili was back in England; he settled, with his subordinates, at a house in Loughborough supplied by Ambrose Phillipps. Father Dominic Barbieri, after a further and disillusioning visit, came to settle permanently at Aston Hall, Stone, in September 1841.*

* There is a small brick chapel by Pugin at Stone; a letter from Bishop Walsh to Dr. Errington, dated Jan. 3rd. 1845 (property of the Cathedral Archive, St. Chad's, Birmingham, cat. no. B817) mentions an allowance of £20 to 'Padre Dominic' (ie. Barbieri) for 'the building at Stone', and continues: '.....and that for any further remittance on that head he must await the return to England of Bishop Wiseman, who, as Padre Dominic says, planned the whole thing with Mr. Pugin. I will endeavour to obtain something for him from Mr. Fitzherbert'. It seems likely that it is the building of this small chapel that is being discussed.

While not pretending, in this brief resumé of certain sections of the Catholic history of these years, to have given a complete picture, the range of events that I have chosen will give some idea of the weight Puginism (ie. the ideas Pugin fostered, and the small movement around him) carried at this time. The Catholic establishment was moving towards setting up a more developed network so as to cope with the growing demands of larger, and less nervous, congregations who wanted to worship regularly at a local church. To satisfy this need that establishment was prepared to be moderately adventurous: that is to say, it was prepared to employ widely the rather eccentric Pugin; it was prepared to go along with the demands he made for the restitution of the true medieval forms of building and worship; it employed him to teach students at the Oscott College. Within, as I say, the narrow limits of its current vision and policy, the establishment welcomed Pugin with fairly widespread arms.

But Pugin had other connections and other ideas; he knew intimately Ambrose Phillipps, who was hard at work introducing foreign missionaries, complete with the trappings of 'superstition' which had in past centuries made the English Protestant hate and distrust the Catholic. The stated end of those missionaries was the conversion of the whole of England, a daring, drastic, even dangerous ambition to admit to. The Vicars Apostolic fought shy of this notion, just as Walsh had fought shy of the vestment to be worn by the monks of Mount St. Bernard, the proposal that they should wear their habits outside, as well as inside, the monastery. Ambrose Phillipps' expression of his own zeal and ideals in this direction was paralleled by Pugin's idealised realisations of the medieval monastic form and life-style in the two institutions I have discussed above. As the missionary movement stood in relation to the

programme to expand the Vicariate system, so stood the building of St. John's Hospital and Mount St. Bernard and the ideas they represented, to the building of St. Chad's, St. Marie's, and all the others and the scheme which they represented. At this point in his career Pugin stood in both camps, and indeed there was not as yet any real acrimony existing between them. That was to be a later development. Wiseman is important here, not because he held any important post, but because, from Rome, he played the field. He wanted to come to England, as indeed he did; to be very much in touch with events against the day of his coming, but without many enemies. This he managed quite well, and in doing so he helped to hold the two parties I have named in unison.

By 1841 signs of the later dissension, when Pugin was not to be so popular, were beginning to show. Perhaps I cannot end this section better than in suggesting, by means of a quotation, one of the wide fields from which that dissension was to spring. In January 1841 Pugin wrote to Shrewsbury, at Rome, the following:

England certainly is not what it was in 1440 but the thing to be done is to bring it back to that era, and how can this be better effected than by seeing the glorious works of that period, not mutilated or modernised, but tale quale as they existed in the days of England's faith. Could your Lordship but have seen the enthusiasm which the views of the churches I am building excited at Oxford you must have been truly delighted; those great and good men hailed them as the harbingers of England's restoration. Never have I heard such catholic sentiments and hopes as were expressed in that antient university. (Underlinings are Pugin's own; letter now at Victoria and Albert Museum Library, Box IV 86 DD)

Another, earlier letter from the same source, of Nov. 6th. 1840, to Shrewsbury at Nice, speaks of 'my delightful visit to Oxford'; but Pugin's enthusiasm in this field was not to be shared by all Catholics.

Conclusion and summary of Argument:

After a period of at least three years in which he had felt drawn towards the Catholic religion, Pugin became a convert late in 1834. More important, for my present purpose, than the actual fact of conversion is the strongest inference that Pugin spent this period of three or four years engaged in serious scholastic, theological and historical studies, as well as adding to his already great store of artistic and architectural acquirement. This is to say that by the time he became a Catholic Pugin possessed a great store of experiential knowledge, based on his many trips both inside England and in France (possibly Germany also); and a similar store of knowledge derived from study. The three MS volumes, The Shrine, St. Margaret's Chapel and St. Marie's College reflect the Catholic interest of these formative years.

The 'medievalism' demonstrated by Pugin I have defined as being something fully encompassed neither by his Scholastic and historical, nor by his religious, preoccupation. It has an emotionalist content which is peculiar to itself. To examine the nature of this, the two institutions of Mount St. Bernard and St. John's Hospital were brought under consideration. These two places were built, unaffected by considerations of religious politics or the need to house growing congregations; they were privately financed by the closest circle of Pugin's two major secular sponsors and friends; they were highly idealistic in their conception. In toto, these two establishments form a unique architectural expression of the faith and learning, tempered by a powerful emotional self-expression, which constitutes 'medievalism' in Pugin.

In his first Publications, the Letter to Wakewill and Contrasts 1,

Pugin made use quite frequently of a literary procedure where the emotionalism of his medievalism was added to scholarship and expression of faith. This, in the prose, produced a composite which, on many readers, would have made a violently disagreeable impression; the reaction was not against the Catholicism, but against the emotive evocation of it which Pugin employed; it was also demonstrated that the procedure involved was not a valid one, in that Pugin drew wide conclusions from arguments which were in reality narrowly based. The parallel between the literary genre, as evinced here, and the architectural, as in the two buildings under discussion, is clear and direct. Each had firm foundations in knowledge and study, to which an idealistic emotionalism of unproven applicability was added. Though I have spent time pointing out the failings of this system, it could also be attractive and moving.

This type of medievalism was not confined to the early years, but tended to be clouded by pragmatic considerations later; in the last years of Pugin's life, though, in such work as the Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, it appears with something of its old force.

The English Vicars Apostolic were busy in these years, particularly in trying to extend their number and role; but they found time to approve and endorse Pugin's wide employment as a church-builder. There was, though, a certain field of activity with which the Catholic establishment was not much impressed. This was typified by Ambrose Phillipps' attachment to the idea of employing a missionary body, traditional in its attitudes and methods, to attempt the total conversion of England. Such ideas contain much of the idealistic spirit which, as shown above, Pugin himself generated in these years. Indeed, he must have been

sympathetic towards his friend Phillipps' intentions, as the eventual help he gave in building a chapel for Father Dominic shows. Thus one can see that in these early years, Pugin was on the one hand accepted, employed and respected by the Establishment; on the other hand, there was a side to his interests which that Establishment either knew little of, or chose to disregard, though disliking similar interests displayed by the Pugin circle. By 1841 the situation was changing, Wiseman was at last in England in an influential role, the personalised atmosphere of the thirties was being lost as the Catholic Revival gained in magnitude. Things were set to change, as indeed they did.

Pugin in his Prime - his contribution to the Catholic Revival
from 1841 - 1846.

It is not the intention of this chapter to provide a comprehensive chronological account of the development of Pugin's work over the most productive period of his life, 1841 to 1846. Rather, I hope to indicate the areas in which Pugin made singular and important contributions to the Catholic cause. Artistic developments will be temporarily laid aside, to be dealt with in the following chapter except where it is essential, in the interests of coherence, to mention them here; especially there will be an attempt to explain the significance of Pugin's contributions in the light of the progress made in the Catholic revival. Where was his work or writing well received? Where did it appear to produce signs of discord? With whom were relations good, with whom did they become sensitive? Are there obvious reasons for this to which we can now point? How did Pugin stand in relation to the Catholic Establishment by the mid-forties? These are the type of questions which will be asked, within a framework of the central features of Pugin's work. In the examination of these issues I shall rely heavily on Pugin's extant correspondence from various sources, which seems to give the best insight into the day by day tensions, problems and successes of his career.

The large churches which Pugin built at this time will be looked at, especially St. Barnabas at Nottingham; for here Pugin's efforts to expand the conception of what a large parish church could well contain led to conflict both with his patron and with the Catholic Establishment.

As a result of growing confidence and observations made while on continental tours (which will be instanced) Pugin gradually became more

definite, or dogmatic, in his stated opinions on the exact forms that observance and ceremonial (rather than liturgy) should take. The resultant increase in tension between him and his Catholic peers, the feeling that he was exceeding his brief, is also a topic for discussion here.

As the best-documented and longest-lasting case of conflict within the Catholic party concerning Pugin's beliefs and opinions and the contemporary policy and needs of the Catholic church and its ministers, the Rood-screens controversy will be introduced. It demonstrates the growing incompatibility between the architect's role and the peculiar nature of Pugin's own brand of Catholicism. Other instances of this will be introduced.

The conclusions drawn from this chapter will need to be read in close reference to those of the following one, which is to consider Pugin's theory of design, its development, his use of craftsmanship and other related issues in the artistic field.

The Church Building Problem :

In the preceding chapter I have indicated, in summarising the church-building programme of the eighteen-thirties, some of the main issues involved in this. Further enlargement of the subject is, however, necessary here. In the biography of his father, Sir Charles Barry, the Rev. Alfred Barry * comments that Sir Charles preferred those forms

* The Life and Works of Sir Charles Barry, by the Rev. Alfred Barry, (John Murray, London, 1867). For this reference v. Ch. 3, pp. 78-9.

of Gothic which gave an effect of spaciousness; he found such an effect better suited to contemporary notions of Common Prayer. Alfred Barry adds that this preference held even when the gaining of this spacious effect demanded such an adaptation of the traditional Gothic forms, that some aesthetic effect was demonstrably lost. Since a church must, above all, be a building adapted to the worship to be carried on inside it, one can accept and even admire such a pragmatic stance coming from an architect of considerable stature. In such a declaration of intent we see a similar motivation to that which lay behind the many Commissioners' churches which were built from 1818 onwards. Individual competence on the part of the architect clearly counts for a lot here; we accept Barry's church of St. Peter at Brighton as a distinguished example of pre-archaeological Gothic, which works as a church; but we are less willing to accept the majority of what has come to be known, pejoratively, as 'Commissioners' Gothic' *. Such examples imply peculiar and aesthetically unsuitable limitations on the use of Gothic. What forced the building of Gothicised churches in the eighteen twenties and thirties to develop into the far more sophisticated movement it became, was the demand for revised, stringent and archaeologically precise, medievalised procedures of worship as made uniquely by Pugin. Other architects, holding views similar to that of Charles Barry, expressed above, brought no real pressures to bear on this score, at this early stage. Pressures had to

* Commissioners' churches did fill a vital need and some are very noteworthy buildings, e.g. Francis Goodwin's St. Peter, Ashton-under-Lyne. Perhaps the general point is best made in B.F.L. Clarke's words (Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century, 1938): 'They are very much less ugly and inconvenient than many later nineteenth-century churches. But they are certainly not attractive, many were far too expensive, and some have never been particularly useful'. (David and Charles reprint, 1969, p.25)

originate with, or be exerted with the full compliance of, the architect, for he had access to the architectural and archaeological knowledge which was denied to the priest. As Pugin so vividly demonstrated, if the architect was forceful and knowledgeable then resistance from reactionary diocesan or patronal quarters could usually be overcome by the priest. He could then argue for a new church having a large chancel in the medieval tradition, rather than a continuation of the prevalent preaching-house style. The architects of the early thirties tended not to take this lead; who else could? The growing Oxford movement was a primarily doctrinal development, and though it caused liturgical side-effects they were peripheral, its chief protagonists not caring greatly for the reinstatement of ancient forms of worship. Even at the very end of the decade the Cambridge Camden Society was still an ineffectual undergraduate body, so it can claim no innovative role in this stage of the Gothic revival. There was a valuable education process under way, headed by the publications of such men as Le Keux, Britton and the elder Pugin; through these books people were assimilating knowledge of the forms of true medieval architecture. But much of the task of associating the Gothic revival with a revival of the ancient forms of worship fell squarely on one man who was, ironically, a Catholic. Pugin gave impetus to the nascent, struggling process by which a demand for authentic medievalised religious architecture, fitted to the traditional forms of service, was made.

Pugin's Role as Church-BUILDER:

If we look at those small, early parish churches from the years prior to 1840, for which Pugin was responsible - St. Anne's, Keighley; St. James', Reading; St. Mary's, Uttrother; St. Wilfrid's, Hulme; Our Lady and St. Thomas of Canterbury, Dudley; Our Lady and St. Wilfrid, Warwick

Bridge; St. Augustine's, Solihull; - we can see that he was prepared to work, or rather accustomed to working within the confines of a small budget. On most points he was ruled by financial pragmatism; only the Hulme church, out of this group, had a tower and its spire was never added. The rest have only simple belfries. The majority have no aisles; St. James had one originally, only the Dudley and Hulme churches had two. But each church uses its form in such a way as to define and make obvious some basic ritualistic dictates. The roof-line is stepped to indicate clearly the nave-chancel division as a prime feature of the construction; the orientation is east-west, and invariably some effort is made to produce an east window of some effect; the altar, though in most cases simple, is of stone and substantial *. There are small touches of richness, a stained-glass window or rich hanging, to suggest that the church is as fine a one as the parishioners can afford at the present. There is, in short, plenty of evidence that Pugin, even at this stage of his career, did not over-value richness; he worked from a basis of sound simplicity, seeking to add richness to this when possible **. He also put much effort, to the point of causing scenes, into obtaining increases in the planned expenditure on a building, with the purpose of making it more splendid, if he thought he could bring

* v. The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture (1843): 'Since the seventh century the use of stone altars in the church has not only been universal, but obligatory, inasmuch that no priest would be allowed to celebrate without, at least, a portable altar stone.' (p. 36) Pugin had no time for wooden altar tables.

** It should be made clear that I refer to these churches only as examples of early, small Pugin churches; the Dudley and Hulme churches are the largest of the group, though still built with a strict eye to economy. Pugin was also at the same time working on more lavish churches, e.g. St. Mary's, Derby; St. Barnabas, Nottingham; St. Alban's Macclesfield. These churches also make the point, though less emphatically, that Pugin was concerned with solidity first, enrichment afterwards.

this off. The following section will help to illustrate this point, in relation to the larger churches Pugin was building.

In 1841 the building of the church of St. Barnabas, at Nottingham, was progressing. Pugin was the architect of the church and supervising its building; Lord Shrewsbury and Bishop Walsh, Vicar Apostolic of the Central District (formerly the Midland District) who governed with Bishop Wiseman as his coadjutor, were jointly responsible for the financing of this church. Shrewsbury wrote to Walsh from Rome, where he was wintering, and it emerges in the course of the letter that Shrewsbury had provided £7000 for the church against Walsh's £3500. He reminds Walsh that they had agreed on completing the church with 'as little expense as possible in the shell'; £7000 was allowed for this, then £3000 for the interior and the remaining £500 for commissioning the church (ie. supplying vestments, plate etc.). The design which Shrewsbury has just been sent is bigger than agreed, has transepts and a tower (which necessitates structural strengthening as a foundation even if the tower itself is not added until later). He writes that he does not have the extra money which this plan requires; of the tower he argues the propriety, on Italian precept, of a separate campanile which could be considered at a later date. Above all Shrewsbury is emphatic against the modified plans because they depart from what had been firmly agreed and, one also feels, against Pugin for having thought to alter them thus. This argument from the letter is important:

Heaven knows we have abundance of Churches to build everywhere, so that I am sure neither your Lordship nor I need desire to do any one of them in a manner to injure another.....I must protest against the principle being departed from, which was to employ nearly one third of the money on interior decoration, while we did not build larger than was necessary. The prep-

aration for the centre tower will add immensely to the expense.
(Letter from Lord Shrewsbury to Bishop Walsh, Nov. 16th. 1841; now
at the St. Chad's Cathedral Archive, Birmingham; cat. no. B 606)

One should note especially that Shrewsbury is not arguing against the ratio of money allotted for the decoration - that is, he is not opposing Pugin's principle of enriching a structure as much as possible. What he opposes is the presumption shown by Pugin in enlarging, without prior consultation, the overall plan. As a footnote to the letter, addressed specifically to Bishop Wiseman, Shrewsbury adds:

If the Bishop has plenty of money, why not build elsewhere ?.....
the great centre tower and five chapels (ie. the five included in the Barnabas plan) are beyond our present wants. He (ie. Pugin) fancies all Oxford is already come over'. (ibid.)

The whole issue has clearly grown up from, on the one hand, Pugin's belief that excellence was worth fighting for and on the other Shrewsbury's desire to do his best for the growing Catholic congregations.

In a later letter dated 'Eve of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Lady, 1841', this argument is followed through. Shrewsbury says that he has been told by a Mr. Willson (presumably E.J. Willson whose early correspondence with Pugin I have mentioned) that St. Barnabas was now well under way; moreover Walsh has borrowed the original £3000 promised, which it transpires he did not have, and also a further £1000, wheedled out of him by Pugin so that the church might be built in stone :

Now, my dear Lord, you will already have learnt by my last, how surprised I was to hear of so early a beginning, and under circumstances in which I perceived Pugin had violated all his engagements with me. And here is another violation, and the most important of all..... Now, I told Pugin from the beginning, and repeated it to your Lordship and Dr. Wiseman, that my plan and object was to have a church such as would really answer the purpose at the smallest possible outlay. The principles we laid

down and agreed upon were, that it was to be of brick, as being the cheapest material, that it was to have no other preparation for a tower than an extra thickness in one of the side walls, that it was not to be over large, and that a very important portion of the cost was to be reserved for internal decoration. Now it appears to me that all these stipulations, and without which I declared to Pugin, over and over again, that I would have nothing to do with it have been violated by him. Yr. Lordship will also remember that we agreed that if the congregation subscribed £1000, that it should go to build a House for the Clergy, but now that is converted to quite a different purpose. I really cannot take upon me to sanction such a waste of means in these necessitous times. (Letter from Lord Shrewsbury to Bishop Walsh, Dec. 7th. 1841; now at the St. Chad's Cathedral Archive, Birmingham; cat. no. B 609)

This demonstration of the different interests represented in the planning of a Catholic church of the eighteen-forties is illuminating; the pragmatism of the problem, the clear link between money available and the final form of the building, is apparent. Even within the limits thus imposed there are further considerations. Lord Shrewsbury appears as a man ambitious to produce good work (witness the large proportion of money set aside for internal decorations) but also tied by his role as paymaster; he is anxious that his money should be spent to best advantage and sees that this involves a social context: there must be churches immediately available for parish use and they must be adequately, though not lavishly, equipped. Pugin, as a purist, tries to arrogate as large a portion of the finance as he can for the bones of the structure; his assumption, bluntly put, seems to be that if he can divert money to the structure people will then have to dig deeper for the funds to equip that shell. Result - a finer building than originally projected, achieved by this slightly devious procedure and at the expense of some hard feelings on the way. Bishop Walsh constitutes a fine example of the sort of impressionable person upon whom Pugin

could successfully perform this manoeuvre. Whatever the means, the important conclusion is that Pugin was the moving force in actively forcing the Catholic church towards a rich and accomplished style of Gothic revival building in these years. The private patrons, with Shrewsbury at their head, were ready with what money they had; the Catholic Bishops were prepared to see new churches built; Pugin was urging them to take his lead in determining the form and style of what they caused to be built, and was using all means at his disposal to secure this end.

The Influence of Europe:

It is significant that an architect esteemed by his contemporaries as standing in the first rank, Sir George Gilbert Scott, could comment:

I believe my own journeys into Germany, and subsequently into France, gave the first impetus in the direction of foreign architecture, and that was but a slight one. (Personal and Professional Recollections, Sir G.G. Scott, 1879, edited by Giles Gilbert Scott; p.202)

This comment follows on from an assertion that until 1845 the Gothic revival in England was based on English models. Pugin had by 1845 been travelling abroad for many years and had toured extensively in France and Germany; at the time when Scott boasted of exploring these lands for architectural purposes, Pugin was in Italy*. Inside the larger

* Pugin's Diaries provide a complete record of his travels from 1835. As a child he knew France, and later continued to visit it regularly and often. From July to September 1838 he travelled in France, Germany and Switzerland, his first recorded visit to the latter two countries. In 1847, from March until June, he travelled to Italy, visiting many places of note there. As Diaries and Correspondence conclusively prove, the overriding purpose of these tours was to gather sources and materials for his design work.

context of these visits Pugin also found time to examine and comment on the state of worship in the religious edifices he examined. On one occasion he writes that he is just back from St.Omer:

.....where the glories of Catholic antiquity and modern trash are surprisingly contrasted. I witnessed a procession for the Fête-Dieu in which ecclesiastical ornament and vestments were burlesqued in the most outrageous manner.....worthy of Bartholomew Fair.(Letter from Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, Box no.IV 86 DD; 22nd.June 1840)

By contrast a later visit to Bourges produced a delighted reaction from Pugin; he speaks first of a religious procession he saw, then goes on to describe the cathedral observances:

The ornaments and details were wretched but the piety of the people was most edifying and I was very much delighted to see the antient traditions kept up.....I was very much pleased with the choir service at the Cathedral. Plain chant very solemn, a procession before mass all round the church, a choir service is the real thing; it is the nearest approach to heaven that can be obtained upon earth. The Bishops assisted. With the exception of Dinner and Breakfast I was all Sunday in the churches.....(Letter from Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury, from the collection of Lady Alford; written from Antwerp, 1st.Aug.1843)

These two passages serve to remind us that Catholicism as practised in Catholic Europe was very different from the same faith in England. One recalls the strong feeling aroused by the arrival in England of Father Gentili of the Rosminians; his installation at Prior Park by Bishop Baines of the Western District, in 1835, resulted in some antipathy towards him and his order. This centred on his reforms to the system of devotions and retreats as used at Prior Park; he felt that, as they stood, they were stiff and unfeeling; the English clergy involved felt that his reforms turned the system into a demonstrative, showy display of excesses. He was a continental, and the continental

way of worship was not acceptable here. The English Catholics of this period tended to be retiring and conservative; they were not strongly ultramontanist because for centuries Rome must have seemed very far away from their own restricted way of life. Pugin, being half-French and the son of an emigré as well as a life-long traveller, did not feel this restriction and its consequent inhibitions and aversions; or, if he did feel it, he was not sympathetic towards its cold insularity. He saw while abroad examples of ceremonial and prayer carried out still in the 'antient tradition'; his chief thought was to bring back the form and the tradition of this ceremonial to the arid English scene, as being the only appropriate outward expression of inward piety. The pressures that Pugin employed in the prime of his career, when at his most influential, stem from this way of thought; he wished to use his role as architect as a means whereby to influence the forms of worship of the English Catholic church; but his influence was directed towards a style of worship which, whatever its merits, was basically unwelcome to many of the people he was working with and for.

The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture:

This book, published by Dolman in 1843 from two earlier articles (as is noted in my Bibliography), contains Pugin's fullest expression of the relationship between architecture and religious observance.

The Present State summarises the needs of a Catholic parish church in terms of architecture and fittings, as seen by Pugin; it also contains a description of most of the buildings he was engaged on at the time, relating them to his theoretical list of requirements. Pugin is not here concerned with the most spiritual function of religion, but with the everyday; his starting point is the following:

It is, in fact, by parish churches that the faith of a nation is to be sustained and nourished; in them souls are engrafted to the Church by the waters of baptism; they are the tribunals of penance, and the seats of mercy and forgiveness. In them is the Holy Eucharistic sacrifice continually offered up, and the sacred body of our Lord received by the faithful; there the holy books are read, and the people instructed; they become the seat and centre of every pious thought and deed;.....and even now, desecrated and despoiled as they are, still is there a traditionary reverence for these monuments of ancient piety left among the people. (Present State, Basil Blackwell reprint edition, 1969, pp. 1-2)

This abstract and rather sententious statement of the role of the parish church is not a complete representation of Pugin's case, though its emotional form provides a suitable entry into the continuing argument. There is nothing inherent in this passage to point the believer towards an understanding of the imperative that must make him associate the old, traditional Catholic forms with the medieval Gothic style. Things ancient are not ipso facto things Gothic. Pugin writes of a 'traditionary reverence' but says nothing of what originally prompted this reverence and respect for their church among the parishioners of old. In the following few pages Pugin clarifies this issue. He speaks of 'A vast body of uninformed but excellently intentioned people, especially in agricultural districts' who in his own day 'oppose the progress of Catholicism from Catholic motives'. Because the Catholic church of the early nineteenth century had begun to present itself through what he calls 'dissenting looking', preaching house style buildings, it is Pugin's argument that the conservative body he cites had begun to mistrust modern Catholicism. This argument, though it may sound unlikely, constitutes a parry on Pugin's part to the oft-made claim that English Catholics did not want the unfamiliar trapping of medieval-style religion. The central assumption of such

a case is an important one: this is, that a concept of history is firmly attached to proper understanding of the function of the church; one can only see and understand the workings of communal worship in an historical framework. If we accept this, then we must accept Pugin's joint preoccupation with history and with traditional forms. To unite this notion of the importance of a general tradition, with that of a specifically Gothic tradition we do not need to look far:

Formerly, the word church implied a particular sort of edifice invariably erected on the same principle; it might be highly ornamented, or it might be simple; it might be large or small, lofty or low, costly or cheap, but it was arranged on a certain regulated system. Churches built hundreds of miles apart, and with the difference of centuries in the period of their erection, would still exhibit a perfect similarity of purpose, and by their form and arrangement attest that the same faith had instigated their erections, and the same rites were performed within their walls. (Present State, pp.4-5)

This is the idea of Catholicism that Pugin was really trying to put forward at the most successful part of his career. Each church must have its own local identity, its distinct parochial function; but it must also form a unit in a vast network of Catholic churches built up in the middle-ages and still attached, in spirit, to that medieval period. The former function brings out the nationalist side of Pugin's character for a parish church fulfilling those local requirements must, if built in England, be distinctly English; all such English churches must have a bond between them arising out of this. Similarly this local function explains Pugin's determination to use, where possible, the local material: hence the use of flint in his own St. Augustine's at Ramsgate and the deep blue granite of St. Peter Port church, Guernsey, for instance. But the latter function of unity throughout the Catholic world brought Pugin into collision with the

English catholics who were suspicious of the foreign influences it suggested, and of foreign interference with their way of doing things.

To make his position crystal-clear Pugin spends the greater part of the first portion of the Présent State outlining in some detail his list of requirements, based on medieval precept, for the perfect parish church. The list will be familiar to anyone acquainted with later developments in the Victorian High Church architectural scene, which is some tribute to the strength of Pugin's vision in this field. The church will break down into three major units, nave, chancel and tower (in cases of economy, a belfry replacing the latter). Each of these parts has a distinct role and generally the architectural massing will represent the divisions between them (ie. by such means as a stepped roof-line or structural buttressing). A southern porch will contain a stoup for holy-water, that those entering may be cleansed. Inside, close to this south entrance at the west end, will be a lockable font to carry out the symbolic purification necessary before further entry into the church may be made. The nave and chancel form distinct units, the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant. A screen, and possibly a step up, will denote this separation. The nave will contain a pulpit of wood or stone. The Chancel must have its appropriate furniture and arrangements, however simple in form: a stone altar, sacrarium, sedilia, an arch facing these to act as the Holy Week sepulchre; an adjoining sacristy. Pugin's own churches either adhered to this schema or had good reason for departing from it; to assess its profound influence on future Victorian church-building one only has to tour the country and look.

The beginnings of the Rood-Screen controversy :

One wonders, quite naturally, how authoritative were Pugin's pronouncements on the propriety and indispensability of the architectural features he advocated in his theory of church-building. The development of the best-known controversy in this field, concerning the use of a dividing screen, usually open-work stone or wood-work, between chancel and nave, will throw light on this issue. Pugin fought increasingly hard to have this chancel-screen, or rood-screen *, adopted as a feature of all his churches; in the Present State he has this to say of screens :

From the earliest ages there has been a separation between priest and people, between the sacrifice and the worshippers in every church. They have been various in materials, in construction, and in arrangement, but have always existed in some form or other. In parish churches, these screens were generally built of wood, and consisted of open tracery panels, from about three feet from the floor, with an entrance capable of being closed by doors with open panels; their height varies from eight to fifteen feet, according to the scale of the church, and their breadth extends the whole width of the chancel arch, or in a choir church the breadth of the nave. (Present State, p. 25-6)

Then, in the second part of the book :

In England, every church, previous to the great schism, was provided with a screen and roodloft. It is impossible to say the precise period when these were introduced; many of the Norman and early chancels communicating only by a small archway with the nave, the wall itself became a sort of screen, but there is little doubt that the archway was provided with gates and

* This latter name refers to a secondary function of the screen, in supporting a rood or cross mounted above it, under the chancel arch. The rood-loft, which also figures in Pugin's argument, provided a position for reading, preaching, etc. on special occasions when the elevation it gave was desirable.

a rood-beam. Those in the cathedral, conventual and collegiate churches, were generally built solid of stone, enamelled with canopied niches and images, and provided with two staircases for the gospeller and epistler to ascend different ways, on their proper sides of the choir. In parochial churches, the screens and lofts were generally constructed of timber, and, with few exceptions, had only one staircase, usually built in a small turret outside the walls, or in the substance of a large pillar.

(Present State, pp. 71-72)

A more modern architectural historian offers the following opinion*:

There are no indications that the early medieval church had a chancel-screen. The introduction of this was probably an attempt to restore to the chancel something of the seclusion it had enjoyed since Anglo-Saxon days and before chancel arches were widened during the early medieval period. There are some stone chancel-screens of fourteenth-century date remaining in parish churches, some of which are in their original position while others have been removed into a transept arch to enclose a family chapel.

The elaborate wooden screens of the last Gothic period completely cut off the chancel from the nave with a partition having its upper part pierced for restricted vision but still of sufficient solidity to confer an atmosphere of privacy upon the most sacred part of the building. Chancels flanked by aisles also had the openings into these closed by screens, the whole arrangement being derived without doubt from that of the screened choirs of the monastic churches.....

The chancel-screen itself was crowned by a crucifix or 'rood' and thus became the 'rood-screen'. As candles were lit before the rood and these required attention, the screen had to be capped with a narrow gallery or 'rood-loft' to provide access. The stairs formed in the wall to reach the rood-loft usually remain to this day even though screen and loft may have vanished long ago.....

During the fifteenth century, when the English parish church

* Hugh Braun, Parish Churches - Their Architectural Development in England, (Faber and Faber, London, 1970).

reached the zenith of its architectural excellence, the rood-screen with loft and access stairs seems to have been as obligatory a feature as the western bell-tower. (Parish Churches, pp.171-172)

It will be clear that agreement between Pugin and the modern view, as here represented, is considerable, though there are slight differences of emphasis. Under the generic term 'screen' Pugin includes all means of limiting access or vision from nave to chancel; the very early, narrow chancel-arch; the solid stone screen (as still extant at Canterbury, Exeter and Glasgow); the late medieval carved wooden screen; these all, for Pugin, represented the same principle of division. A more objective observer would choose to distinguish, as Braun does, between the differing means employed at different ages to accomplish such a division. There is also the issue of when the chancel-screen became an indispensable feature of church arrangement. Pugin suggests that, from the narrow Saxon chancel-arch to the elaborate screen of the fourteenth century, there was no falling-off in the screen principle; he does, though, admit the impossibility of knowing when the wooden screen was introduced. He also allows latitude in his words, quoted above, 'previous to the great schism'. Does he mean 'at all times previous to.....', or simply 'immediately prior to'? If one accepts the latter, then Pugin is in complete accord with the view put by Braun. On balance one can say that when the 'rood-screens controversy' first raised itself Pugin took a view consistent with modern historical and architectural scholarship. Only with time, and the sequence of events, was he pushed to a less reasonable position, as I will show both below and in a later chapter.

The Screen of St.Chad's Cathedral :

In the Present State Pugin provides plates illustrating screens fitted in various of his own churches, some of which were not complete at the time of writing. Among these plates is one which illustrates the screen he designed to be fitted in St. Chad's at Birmingham *. A rather unyielding formality, stemming no doubt from the dominance of the straight line over the softer curve in the arches of the bays, detracts a little from the beauty of this screen; but the emphasis is on open work and one cannot imagine that the finished screen would have done much to obscure the congregation's view from the nave of the ceremonials being conducted at the altar. Nonetheless Pugin's first real clash with the Establishment came over the fitting of this screen, and it was prophetic of things to come. It was Bishop Wiseman, coadjutor to Bishop Walsh, who seems to have suggested early in 1841 that the screen might well be omitted from the finished church. Many clergy felt that the divisive force created by the overt symbol of separating clergy from people was not what the Catholic church of the nineteenth century needed; Oratorianism, which was chiefly concerned with making religion accessible to the parishioners, was still a few years away, but even so a strong body of opposition to the idea of a screen was found. The threat of removal stirred up the strongest feeling :

I had not the slightest idea that any communication had been made to your Lordship about the screen at Birmingham as that business has been settled some time since and the screen remains precisely as it was designed. I know not what modifications Dr. Wiseman contemplated respecting it but of this I am well assured, that any alteration of the present design would have ruined the finest feature about the church. I am willing to believe that the idea of spoiling this screen did not originate with Dr. Wiseman but I am much surprised that he should have lent himself and assisted in such a proposition

* Present State, facing p.74; v.Illustration 4 at rear of thesis.

after his positive assurance to me only a few weeks before, that (he?) would not interfere in any way with the architectural arrangements of the churches in progress. Had he persisted in spoiling or mutilating this screen, the consequences would have (been?) very serious: 1) I should have instantly resigned all further superintendence over the church, and my resolution to that effect was actually written while awaiting the decision, ready to be forwarded to the Bishop if they determined upon altering the screen. 2) The subscribers to the church would have ceased all further contributions in disgust..... 3) Mr. Hardman would have instantly retired from the active part he has so ably filled and not improbably have left Birmingham..... His father has paid £600 for the very screen it was actually proposed to destroy and although the idea has been abandoned it has yet (sic) the fact of its ever having been entertained and by the very man who ought to be the most zealous in restoring true Catholic architecture * has filled him with alarm and distrust..... I have ever served the Bishop most faithfully and will continue to do so while I can build churches for him in accordance with true Catholic principles..... (Letter from Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, Box IV 36 DD; written Jan. 6th. 1841)

Strong feelings are obviously involved here and some of Pugin's anger must have come from the feeling that an influential friend had in this way turned against him - in his own eyes this is what Wiseman had done. The nub of the matter lies in the use of the phrase, 'the

* Pugin's reference here is clearly to Wiseman, who originated the move against the screen; that Pugin should so emphatically refer to him as 'the very man' who should be working for 'true Catholic architecture' (ie. the medieval forms) indicates that he had in the past had warm support and encouragement from Wiseman. This is as I have suggested in my previous chapter. Towards the end of the letter Pugin comments, 'It is a great pity Dr. Wiseman has not more feeling for Catholic architecture', indicating further his growing disillusionment with Wiseman.

architectural arrangements of the churches'; to Pugin a screen is a central feature of the building, necessary to the fulfilment of its function and therefore coming within the province of the architect. To Wiseman the presence of a screen relates only to the performance by the priesthood of their duty in carrying out the observances required by their Church; therefore it comes outside the province of the layman and the architect. Both points of view are arguable, but on balance Pugin held the weaker position in such disputes; in this case he wielded influence through his local contacts and support, particularly from the Hardman family. But without this support his campaign to influence the forms of church-fittings and design was an uphill one if influential churchmen were standing against him. We have seen above how one such man, Bishop Wiseman, took such a stand and, in this case, lost the fight. We have seen also how in the building of St. Barnabas the compliant Walsh enabled Pugin to enforce his opinion and intentions against those of Lord Shrewsbury. But, with the many changes that were coming in the progress of the Catholic revival, the time was rapidly approaching when Pugin's ability to succeed in these disputes would lessen.

A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts:

In a footnote to page 25 of the Present State Pugin announces that 'in a continuation of this article, it is proposed to enter fully into the history of rood-lofts.....'; this continuation never came but we may take this as the first reference to the long-promised work on screens which finally appeared as A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, Their Antiquity, Use and Symbolic Signification (London, Dolman, 1851). Strictly this work falls outside the chronological

bounds of this chapter; its roots and the issue with which it concerns itself lie very much within those bounds. Therefore there is justification for introducing it here. The format of the book is extremely impressive; a thirteen-page introductory chapter forms the actual 'Treatise' and is followed by an eight-page chapter on the 'Enclosure of Choirs'. The bulk of the remainder of the book is made up of examples divided under heads by country covering most of Western Europe. Then, as a relief from this convincing and authoritative, but slightly overwhelming, form of exposition, comes Pugin's best passage of sustained impressionistic writing. The section is headed, 'Of the Four Classes of Ambonoclasts', and contains Pugin's feeling about four types of chancel-screen destroyer whom he classifies as the Calvinist, Pagan, Revolutionary and Modern *. There are also fourteen plates illustrating thirty-three different arrangements of screens from many continental churches. Pugin's first bald statement of the role of the screen as he sees it brings us straight back to the issues involved in the St.

* The notebook of Pugin's containing a draft copy of his unpublished work on the 'Separated Church', with which I shall deal in detail in a later chapter, also contains a draft copy of the account of the Pagan and Revolutionary Ambonoclast which comprise the greater part of this section (v. Victoria and Albert Museum Library, press no. 86 MM 48). The text of this draft is poor in quality, being pencil-written and verging on illegibility, but it seems not to differ in essentials from the text as published, though it is shorter. In the draft the story is simply that of the Church of Conques: the Abbé de Chantal, we are told, modernised his church, destroying its fine screen; when the French revolution came he died at the hands of Frenin, labourer turned revolutionary, who met his own equally symbolic death in the attempt to destroy for personal gain the screen of a neighbouring church. The whole is presented as a sort of cyclical morality tale; unfortunately we have no hint as to its provenance, though it may be based on a true tale heard in Pugin's travels. It is a complete and very impressive departure from the usual Pugin style of writing, and therefore worthy of more attention than it has hitherto received.

Chad's dispute, and one may be forgiven for forgetting the intervening lapse of years:

The subject on which I am about to treat is one of far more importance than the generality of men may be willing to admit; it is not a mere question of architectural detail, respecting a few mullions and a transverse beam, but it involves great principles connected with discipline, and even faith, and it is a question in which all those who either wish for the revival of ancient solemnity and reverence, or even the preservation of what yet remains, are most deeply interested. (Treatise on Chancel Screens, 1851, p.1)

As is pointed out above, churchmen were unlikely to be much influenced by this argument. If they were not keen to give the architect much scope in deciding how much 'architectural detail' was requisite to the fulfilment of liturgical function, they were quite certainly not going to allow him to comment on the 'great principles' of the faith which, as ordained clergy, they were uniquely entitled to administer *. It can come as no surprise that Pugin's comments in the Treatise on Chancel Screens were thought by many to be opinionated, and beyond the terms of his architectural brief. Among the famous men to react adversely to Pugin's involvement in such an issue was Newman. Miss Holmes, perturbed by Pugin's views on the relationship between architecture and ceremonial, received this comment from Newman:**

* Although it was less than a decade later when Newman's On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine (The Rambler, July 1859; reprinted with additions and amendments, 1871) appeared, whereafter he was delated for heresy, though ultimately unsuccessfully, over just this issue.

** Miss Mary Holmes, governess, music teacher and friend of Newman since 1840, became a Catholic in 1844 (v. Index to Vol. XII, Letters and Diaries of J.H.N., ed. Dessain). Pugin's Diary records at 22nd. March 1847, 'Miss Holmes £35 to May'. This precedes his departure on a lengthy tour of Italy and France. Pugin was a widower at this time; the implication is that Miss Holmes acted as nanny or governess to his children for at least several months. Hence arose her concern over his views on Catholicism.

he (Pugin) identifies love of Gothic art with orthodoxy, and love of classical or ancient Italian art with heresy. He has even said that the sight of Rome is a trial to a neophyte. What a very objectionable sentiment ! It does not do to joke on such subjects - He who makes orthodoxy consist in anything but truth in faith and morals, or thinks that there is exclusive truth, necessary for us, except in faith and morals, goes far towards being a heretic himself - and I have no confidence whatever in such theorists. I am not speaking against Pugin himself, observe, but against the temper of mind which he represents, and is encouraging. It tends to heresy.....there is something higher than architecture - and that is the ecclesiastical ritual - and Puginism exalts architecture to the profanation of higher things. Pugin cares nothing for Rubrics - to him they do not exist - the Sacred Congregation of Rites is almost one of the stumbling blocks of Rome in his eyes. (Letter of 7th. April 1850, Newman to Miss Holmes; Letters of J.H. Newman, edited by C.S. Dessain, Vol. XIII, pp. 460-462.)

The issues raised in this criticism of Pugin made in 1850 were all implicit, or raised, in the disputes of the early forties over such issues as screens, the use of stone instead of brick, the enlarging of original schemes without the consent of the paymaster, in fact all the well-intentioned tricks Pugin indulged in to gain the spread of medievalism in church art. By 1850 arguments such as those used by Newman above had coalesced into a coherent and incisive form; in the early disputes in which Pugin was involved there was a less complete articulation of the case against his ideas and methods, but the seeds of opposition, or what was to become opposition, were firmly present.

The Pattern of Overall Progress :

I have, in the above pages, picked out the seeds of disagreement as they existed, beginning in the early forties, between Pugin and his fellow Catholics in high office within the establishment. I have done so to

demonstrate, I hope conclusively, that there was a continuing thread of antagonism towards Pugin from the Catholic establishment. He was never unreservedly accepted, his work never fully endorsed. Nor does this mean simply that Pugin made enemies, which any dynamic and forceful original mind must do. It means that, having gained the reputation which I spoke of in the previous chapter, he was still engaged in a constant artistic struggle with patron and Catholic superior. The prime instance is Wiseman whom Pugin had thought to be a friendly influence; as early as 1841 Wiseman was taking stands against Pugin over issues which the medievalist architect thought vital to his art.

But for the years with which I am principally concerned here, from 1841 to 1846, one must retain a clear sense of proportion. The differences I have described here are important ones, and were to become far more so. But there was still much accord, progress and accomplishment for Pugin in these, the most fruitful years of his professional life. Disillusionment was still very much a seed, achievement was flourishing.

Pugin spent these years in frantic activity; his diary for 1841 shows that he spent about 120 days in that year travelling. Much of this was between Ramsgate, London, Birmingham and Alton Towers, and there were also trips on business to places as far apart as Exeter, Bristol, York, Hull, Newcastle, Lancaster and Carlisle. Abroad, Pugin spent a hectic couple of weeks touring all over Belgium and the Netherlands on one of his many trips to collect materials and ideas. Nor was his health good; Pugin was not a self-indulgent man, so when his diary reads, as it does on several occasions in this year, 'very ill' or 'very weak', we may assume that he means precisely that. With minor variations this pattern is repeated over the following years. For instance the 1844 diary

records about 150 days spent in journeys that must for the most part have been lengthy and arduous. Two trips abroad were made in that year, including a trip to Cologne. Health seems to have been less of a problem in this year, but on the other hand there was the strain consequent upon the death in August of 'my good and dear faithful wife Louisa whose dear soul my God in his mercy assoil' (one of the few occasions when Pugin made a personal statement in his diaries).

One hears and accepts the statement that Pugin achieved more in his short lifetime than most men could in ten times that number of years; but it is only in reading the tale told by these diaries, the tale of innumerable journeys, meetings, short stays at sites of new buildings, journeys abroad, illnesses, upsets and overall strength-sapping effort, that this cold statement comes to life. This pattern of frenzied activity continued to the end of Pugin's life; but by the late forties, as I shall show later, it was coloured with disappointments and work which was not satisfying to Pugin. For the years I am discussing here Pugin was working his heart and his health out at projects he really enjoyed and wished to see completed.

The years 1841 to 1846 comprised quite a satisfying time for English Catholics. The Vicariates had just been extended in number and various other moves to facilitate the growth of the influence of Catholicism, whose beginnings I dealt with in my last chapter, were now firmly under way. Pugin was established as a master church-builder; the dynamic Wiseman was back permanently in England and had to spend the next few years proving that he could, as it were, profitably hold down a steady job - that he could, given time and hard work, really do something on the spot for the English Catholic cause. Outside the Catholic circle, the Oxford movement was beginning to lean towards Rome; by 1845 Newman,

preceded by several others, had been converted. The Ecclesiologist, the periodical of the Cambridge Camden (later Ecclesiological) Society, began to appear in November 1841; this made a unique place for itself in the field of religio-architectural criticism, accepted many of the tenets of Puginism, and grew to influence many of the outstanding designers and architects of the next decade. In June 1841 St. Chad's was consecrated with elaborate ceremonial and in the same year St. Barnabas' at Nottingham was begun; the project for St. George's at Southwark was also going on well. Substantial pro-cathedral churches were therefore standing, or erecting, in many parts of the country, to establish the success of the medievalist principle in architecture. Pugin was playing a significant role in the development and expansion of Catholicism in England.*

It is true that these were years of hard work and solid achievement by the Catholic party; but if we think in terms of the overall development of the Catholic revival there is one aspect that we cannot ignore. This is that though strenuous efforts were made, these efforts were directed, in these years, to consolidation rather than innovation. Startling progress had been made in the thirties and further real progress was to be made with the move towards the new hierarchy in the latter part of the forties. But the first half of this decade was devoted to consolidating the gains of the thirties, not to launching out in new

* Here is a good opportunity to note also the important work carried out by Pugin in Ireland, in the years now under discussion. Phoebe Stanton, in her Pugin (1971), is the first critic to give sufficient weight to the considerable amount of work carried out there by Pugin (v. Pugin, pp. 66-72, 117-120 principally). One small but basic point warrants additional stress in this context: this is that it was Lord Shrewsbury (or, to give him his full title, the 16th. Earl of Shrewsbury, Waterford and Wexford) who was the provider for most of this work, which took place on his Irish domains and under his influence.

directions.

The Social Aspect of Pugin's Church-building :

Before closing this chapter some consideration should be given to the less impersonal issues of the church-building programme. After all, the basic component of Catholicism remained, at this time as always, the individual congregation member. For the most part this could mean an urban worker, possibly an Irish immigrant, often poor, usually poorly educated. Pugin's social awareness in this area was not acute. His plate in the second edition of Contrasts (1841), 'Contrasted Residences for the Poor', shows a kindly, devout medieval poor-house contrasted with the stark, gaunt modern equivalent whose main aim, Pugin seems to think, is the provision of dissection specimens for the medical profession. But this is an exercise in didacticism, not in social awareness; the concepts involved are so idealised, so far removed from reality, as to be meaningless in a social context. Yet on occasions Pugin can surprise us, though these occasions are few and far between :

.....I fear a stone roof, although very good in effect, would be dreadfully cold for the poor people, besides making a very heavy job; for such a roof would naturally require great buttments'.....
(Letter from Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury, Collection of Lady Alford; undated, but written mid-January, 1844*)

We realise, even from this simple reference (in fact Pugin is discussing plans for the kitchen of St. John's Hospital at Alton), that Pugin did give deep thought to the pragmatic functionalism of his buildings;

* The letter also refers to an imminent visit from the Rev. Bernard Smith, to complete work on the Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume (London, Bohn, 1844). Pugin's Diary for 1844 mentions this visit and enables the probable date of 14th. January to be put to this letter.

we note also that his concern in this field is matched by an equal one in the field of cost. Had it been cheaper to build a stone roof, one suspects that the aesthetic advantage of stone would have outweighed Pugin's concern for the welfare of the poor who were to use the kitchen. Nor did Pugin's attitude to the ordinary people who were to use his buildings ever change. He was, personally, a warm and charitable man; **stories** exist, founded firmly on truth, of his help given to poor sailors at Ramsgate and to poor parishioners whom he welcomed to St. Augustine's to worship. But this was the relief given from the benefactor as a christian duty - it was charity freely given; there was no question of the right of the working man to receive aid. The basic unreality of this attitude is demonstrated in an article Pugin wrote later in life, where his medievalised attitude to charity becomes explicit :

And I now, I will have a few words for the poor man, for the labourer, for the mechanic who toils in the heated factory, and lives in the confined limits of a miserable apartment. For them I propose a palace, to which they may have access at will - a palace in which they can dwell with the King of kings. Here they may ever enter, and behold the choicest efforts of human skill, and the most ravishing beauty. Here they may inhale the fragrant odours offered to us before the throne, and listen to the most solemn chaunts; here alone, on earth, can they stand equal in rank to the most dignified in the land; and here, when their necessities require it, can they share in the oblations of the altars, and ever find relief for the afflictions of soul and body.

Such is the earthly palace the Catholic church, in all ages, has prepared for the poor. But what says Judas ? He proposes a room, whose dead walls, and iron girded roof, would only remind the mechanic of the factory in which he labours, and the poor man, of the Union from which he is just emerged; and here, with a skylight dripping with steam, and walls running down with perspiration, and dusty boards for a floor, he may stew his hour, amidst gas-pipes and glare, without one symbol or external feature to distinguish the place, where he enters to worship, from the most ordinary

workshop. ('A Defence of the Revival of Pointed Ecclesiastical Architecture in Reply to Some Recent Attacks', Weekly Register Vol.1, No.10, October 6th.1849.)*

Pugin's real desire to see the people satisfied with a rewarding religious faith is clear; that the people, en bloc, would respond enthusiastically to his means of procuring this satisfaction for them is not so clear. I have shown in the earlier parts of this chapter how Pugin argued and fought for certain aspects of religious architecture which were to make the Catholic observances, as practised in England, more devout and more historically authentic. Pugin saw no differentiation between these two requirements. But it should be manifest, on the evidence of his comments as quoted above, that Pugin took no overriding heed of the needs of the common people when he assessed these requirements. Initially this mattered little; Pugin's churches were no more and no less inconvenient for the congregation than any others. So the only disputes likely were those that did happen, between architect and priest over the demarcation between their respective influences on the configuration of the church. It was only by 1849, when social reform and ideas of the nobility of labour were in the air, that Pugin felt himself to be under criticism on a social front.

Conclusion :

The responsibility for focussing general attention on the old forms of worship over these years fell largely upon Pugin. The revision of

* This article was written by Pugin with the sub-title, Why This Waste. It is an attempt to justify the building of elaborate churches and the revival of rich medieval art forms and procedures; both of these were expensive procedures and their continuing use had come under criticism.

forms of worship was immutably bound up with the establishment of new architectural standards. Pugin was the first man with the necessary architectural and religious vision to set the two things together, and produce good results from the combination. From the beginning he found himself involved in argument with the priesthood, who queried his right to speak authoritatively on matters of church procedure. Pugin fought often and strenuously to assert this right and to keep artistic standards rising in his campaign for medievalism. At this early stage of his career, when he and his work were at their peaks, he was sometimes victor in these disputes, and usually managed to get at least part of his own way.

His strong links with the continent are very important. He set strong precedents for English architects and artists to travel widely to study European examples of Gothic. On the other hand this love of travel, coupled with his French background and inclination towards practices which could have been seen as superstitious, may have earned him some lasting distrust among the English Catholic clergy. Strangely, this feature probably did not trouble Anglicans who tended to think of all Catholics as practitioners of superstition; to these, Pugin may have seemed no different from his Catholic companions.

The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture is, of all Pugin's published work, the key to the issues under discussion here. The opinions expressed in it, concerning the correct architectural form for the parish church, profoundly influenced the whole Victorian church-building movement.

The best known controversy over the conflict of role between artist and

priest came about in the rood-screens issue. Pugin's views on screens can be shown to have a sound historical basis and most of his enthusiasm for them can be justified. However, contemporary influential churchmen such as Bishop Wiseman did not share this enthusiasm, as the disagreement at the building of St. Chad's shows. In its early stages this dispute was a straightforward one but in the late forties it became overlaid with bitterness, spleen and other unpleasant aspects. In this chapter I deal only with the beginnings of the dispute. After a long gestation period the Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts made its appearance; for the most part its arguments are relevant to the early stages of this controversy so they are included in this chapter.

Despite these various disagreements these years were a period of hard, successful work and consolidation for Pugin and the Catholic party. The embryo of discontent and dispute is stressed in this survey because it is what will become important later, and it is important that its beginnings should be understood. Pugin never worked in complete harmony and acceptance with the English Catholic church.

The social aspect of Pugin's church-building is dealt with only briefly; he was very much of the 'old school' in his attitude to social issues, and this is reflected in his occasional forays into the field of social awareness. Generally his belief was that spiritual care, coupled with benevolent charity, was a sufficient solution to the problem of poverty. His personal response to the giving of charity was one of extreme generosity.

The Artistic Progression in Pugin's Work, 1835 to 1852 :

This chapter will form a necessary complement to the previous one and will have two centres of interest. It will contain a discussion of the chief principles to which Pugin adhered in his working life and which governed his artistic output. It will also contain an attempt to relate these principles to Pugin's attitude to his work, as revealed from what we can gather of his day-to-day life and correspondence, and to the mode of applying these expressed principles to his work. Special interest, in terms of the overall scheme of this thesis, revolves around the issue of whether, and to what extent, there were changes in Pugin's attitude to art and craftsmanship over his working life and whether his principles in fact underwent any change. If so, the question will be asked whether such changes relate to parallel or similar changes in his relationship with the Catholic establishment, and in his attitude to his heavy religious commitment, such as I have already discussed at length in the two preceding chapters.

The employment of craftsmanship, mentioned briefly above, will form a strong secondary interest in this chapter. The training and full use of skilled, experienced craftsmen, was a major contribution made by Pugin, not only to the progress of the Gothic revival, but that of nineteenth-century architecture in the widest sense. He trusted his craftsmen to use initiative and intelligence, allied to their skills, in working out the often allusive designs with which he supplied them. They, in their turn, usually responded magnificently to this treatment. One tends to associate Pugin with the firms of John Hardman and Son, of Birmingham, and George Myers, the London-based builder and mason; also his work with Warrington and Wailles, the stained-glass manufacturers,

is known. Since it is not my purpose to be comprehensive in my record of Pugin's canon of work, I shall lay stress in this chapter more on the relationship between Pugin and the Wigmore Street firm of J.G. Grace and Son, who worked long and hard with and for Pugin. This outstanding firm of craftsmen has suffered comparative neglect at the hands of critics dealing with the work of Pugin; so it will form part of my task here, to try and redress the balance a little on this point. In doing so, I in no way mean to underrate or reassess the weighty contributions made by Myers and Hardman; it is simply that others have already sung their praises.*

The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture ; its role in Pugin's work :

If Contrasts is the work which secured Pugin wide recognition as a controversialist and formed the basis on which his popular reputation was built, The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (London, Weale, 1841) ensured for him that his work and theories were taken seriously, and respected, by most of his contemporaries. One must begin a consideration of Pugin's artistic theories by examining this book; yet it is, in several of its most basic points, curiously open to misunderstanding. If I may briefly anticipate my conclusions for this

* Mrs. Elfrida Mostyn, for many years a student of Pugin (v. Country Life, April 1963, for an account of Abney Hall, Cheshire, which has a magnificent Pugin/Grace interior described in detail by Mrs. Mostyn) is currently engaged on a history of the Grace family as craftsmen. She describes the Grace reputation in this field as beginning around 1770; John Gregory Grace and John Diblee Grace, who worked with Pugin, are thus only part of a distinguished line of craftsmen with a strong tradition of excellence. It is to be hoped that Mrs. Mostyn's book will soon appear, doing full justice to the Graces.

chapter, I believe it may be that critics have tended to overstress the ultimate importance of what Pugin has to say in this book, as distinct from in his whole life and pattern of work; one must not make the mistaking of judging too much from the tenets of this work alone.

The first vital question one must ask of the True Principles is this: was Pugin, when he wrote this book, taking his seat at the head of a distinguished line of theoreticians and designers which was to lead, via Morris, the Arts and Crafts people, Art Nouveau, and Bauhaus-based theories to modern functional design and mass-taste? It would be an attractive theory if provable and its basis was recently expounded by Professor Stanton in her Pugin, to which I have already several times referred.* First let us refresh our memories of what Sir Nikolaus Pevsner has called the 'initial trumpet-blast' of Pugin's book **. On its first page appear the following well-known propositions :

1st. that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety.

2nd. that ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building.....

(3rd)....in pure architecture the smallest detail should have a meaning or serve a purpose. (True Principles).

Interpreted in a wide sense these statements could form chapter one of the history of modern design. Closely read, however, there is a large

* Professor Stanton's consideration of True Principles appears on pages 80-85 of Pugin.

** v. Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century by Sir Nikolaus Pevsner (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972), p. 110.

stumbling-block in each one. In the first proposition Pugin includes the notion of 'propriety'; in the second he speaks of the 'enrichment of essentials'; in the last of detail which has 'meaning'. These three inclusions, the concepts of propriety and enrichment and the principle of meaning, very largely qualify any notion of these statements, or the art they describe, being direct precursors of later developments in the field of simple good design and the move towards functionalism. For one cannot but ask: what criteria are to determine what is proper in art? How much enrichment, and of what form, is to be permitted? What sort of meaning can detail express? Pugin himself had no doubt as to the answers to these questions. The essential was the service and advancement of the Catholic faith as expressed in medieval forms, both artistic, architectural and liturgical. This faith determined the standard of propriety; the art could be within the bounds of taste and expression laid down by the work of the great medieval church-builders and craftsmen; the detail used in this expression of faith and beauty had to accord with these aims and be expressive of them, and of them alone. That is the basis of what Pugin has to say throughout the True Principles.*

Taking the opposite view to that expressed above, Professor Stanton writes:

True Principles contains two separate lines of reasoning; one expresses Pugin's proselytism for the revival of the medieval

* Since this chapter was first drafted another commentary has appeared concerning the True Principles; this is Professor Pevsner's Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century (v. footnote, preceding page). It is gratifying that the conclusions of this book tend to agreement with my own: 'The celebrated first sentence of the True Principles reads as follows: "There should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety." That sounds like a functional credo of 1930, and has often been mistaken as such. (p. 109 op. cit.)

style in the decorative arts and architecture in the nineteenth century, and the other concerns the abstract principles of design. It is the second of these that dominates True Principles and has brought Pugin enduring fame and secured a place for his book among the major nineteenth-century works on architecture. (Pugin, pp.80-81)

Professor Stanton then quotes the second and third of the three propositions as above, plus two further ones in the same vein: 'Construction should vary with the material employed' and 'The external and internal appearance of an edifice should be illustrative of, and in accordance with, the purpose for which it is destined'. (These are taken from pp.1 and 42 respectively of the True Principles and quoted on p.81 of Pugin). She continues:

Pugin must have found ample precedents for each of these ideas in Vitruvian and other, earlier, architectural theory.

Two other observations play on the edges of Pugin's argument, but never reach the status of principles. He asserted that local and national styles and traditional forms in architecture should be respectfully considered and if possible maintained, for he said climate, cultural influences, local building materials, and native methods of construction often combined to produce structures which met the standard of his principles. And he broadened his definition of the elements necessary for quality to include social values, expressed for him through Catholicism. It was these two final points which separated Pugin from earlier theoreticians. (Pugin, p.81) *

* Professor Pevsner (op.cit.) cites Blondel as an example of an eighteenth-century source for Pugin's first proposition; it is harder to see who are the architectural theoreticians to whom Professor Stanton here refers. Her point would hold if applied to Britton, Rickman or an eighteenth-century antiquarian viewpoint; it would not hold so well in the case, say, of J.L. Petit but then he was more nearly contemporary; nor, to broaden the range, would it wholly apply in the case of European sources such as Chateaubriand or Schlegel who wrote from a very much broader-based view-point.

It is, to begin with, hard to accept the statement that there are in the True Principles these 'two separate lines of reasoning'; particularly when one of them is stated to be concerned with 'abstract principles of design'. Secondly it is a misrepresentation of the priorities in Pugin's scale of values to suggest that he 'broadened his definition of the elements necessary for quality to include social values, expressed for him through Catholicism'.

To expand these two objections a little and make their point clear, it is necessary to remind ourselves that we are speaking of a book first published in 1841 but in all probability written, as a pair of lectures, as much as two or three years prior to that. In the latter part of the thirties Pugin held the post of Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities at St. Mary's College, Oscott, just outside Birmingham. In 1838-9 the Catholic Magazine (formerly the Edinburgh Catholic Magazine) published three lectures delivered by Pugin in this capacity at Oscott*. It is my belief that the lectures comprising the True Principles were originally written as a subsequent part of this series of lectures, probably in 1839. There are stylistic differences between them and the earlier three, bespeaking a greater assurance and maturity on the part of the author, and they are more substantial in overall effect, but this may be attributed to a pre-publication revision on the part of Pugin. If we can accept this earlier writing date for the book then it means that we can make far more relevant cross-reference between it and the Apology for a Work Entitled Contrasts (Birmingham, for the Author) which appeared in 1837.

* First lecture, Catholic Magazine, vol. 2, pp. 193-213; Second Lecture do., pp. 321-337; Third Lecture, vol. 3, pp. 17-34 and 89-98. Professor Stanton refers (Pugin, p. 80) to these lectures but states erroneously that they were not published until 1846 with the exception of the third which she states, correctly, to have appeared in 1839. I have found no evidence of their publication in 1846.

It was in this Apology that Pugin made perhaps the best-known of his many provocative statements :

.....I will distinctly state,in three propositions,the sum and substance of what I have already advanced in my book of Contrasts,and which will form the basis of all that I shall have occasion,in future,to publish on the subject.

1st. THAT EVERYTHING GRAND,EDIFYING,AND NOBLE IN ART IS THE RESULT OF FEELINGS PRODUCED BY THE CATHOLIC RELIGION ON THE HUMAN MIND.

2nd. THAT DESTRUCTION OF ART,IRREVERENCE TOWARDS RELIGION, CONTEMPT OF ECCLESIASTICAL PERSONS AND AUTHORITY,AND A COMPLETE LOSS OF ALL THE NOBLER PERCEPTIONS OF MANKIND,HAVE BEEN THE RESULT OF PROTESTANTISM,WHEREVER IT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED.

3rd. THAT THE DEGRADED STATE OF THE ARTS IN THIS COUNTRY IS PURELY OWING TO THE ABSENCE OF CATHOLIC FEELING AMONG ITS PROFESSORS,THE LOSS OF ECCLESIASTICAL PATRONAGE,AND THE APATHY WITH WHICH A PROTESTANT NATION MUST NECESSARILY TREAT THE HIGHER BRANCHES OF ART. (An Apology for Contrasts,pp.4-5)

This,of course,did not 'form the basis of all' that Pugin had to say in the years to come; even by the time of the publication of the second edition of Contrasts these extreme views on Protestantism were being markedly modified from the callow state in which they appear here. What is important for my case here is that this passage clearly demonstrates (and this did not alter with the passing of time) the complete and unbreakable bond,in Pugin's ideology,between art and religion. Remembering that we can with some assurance state that the True Principles was produced only two years,possibly only one,after the above statement,it is clear that this link between art and religion must be uppermost in our minds when we read the statement of principles on which the body of the later work is based. It is for this reason that we should question Professor Stanton's assertion that there were 'two separate lines of reasoning' at work.

If we accept,as I think we must,this 'monolithic' idea of Pugin's art-

theory, we are going to find difficulty in extrapolating any intentional propagation of 'abstract principles of design' from the True Principles. A principle tied so firmly to Catholicism can only be 'abstract' in a quite limited sense *.

Secondarily to this, there seem to be no good grounds for the sense of initiative contained in Professor Stanton's assertion that Pugin 'broadened his definition of the elements necessary for quality to include social values, expressed for him through Catholicism'. To suggest this is to place the whole concept on its head; because his religious views took the form they did, Pugin propounded his art-theory in the form that we know. To imply that, having arrived at some theory of art, Pugin then extended this so as to be able to include his Catholic preoccupations safely inside it, comprises a gross mis-judgement. One cannot be precisely sure whether the impression one receives from Professor Stanton's account comes from her use of language; or whether from a real intention to make the point, that Pugin consciously re-formed a functionalist idea of design to suit his needs. However it arises, this argument cannot be too firmly contradicted.

* Pugin was in any case little interested in the abstract side of art. John Hardman Powell, Pugin's son-in-law and one-time pupil, wrote a 'memory offering', dated 14th. September 1889 (the anniversary of Pugin's death) entitled Pugin in his Home (typewritten transcript, Box II, 72.B, Victoria and Albert Museum Library). Under a section heading describing Pugin 'As an Artist', Powell writes that Pugin had no sense of, or interest in, Beauty in the abstract; Beauty, for him, lay wholly in forms and colours. Though this is specific only in terms of 'beauty', and is therefore not primary evidence for the case I am making here, it is clear that since the link between beauty, art and Catholicism is a close one, this assertion by one who knew Pugin well can be given a good deal of weight.

Attempts to instil the design theory of Pugin with a direct significance for the future main-stream development of nineteenth-century design may prove to be unbalanced. Pugin did give, and invaluable, to the future practice of Morris, Webb, Burne-Jones, as well as his more obvious contribution to ecclesiology, to Burges, to Butterfield and many others. But the focal point of this contribution was not the ideas chiefly expressed in the True Principles. Retrospective critical re-alignment which attempts to afford an unjustified weight to that one work is a dangerous procedure, tending towards critical opportunism. Pugin was not a 'prophet out of his time'. But he did establish, through a lifetime's work, principles which continued to hold good until at least the end of his century. Also he did, towards the end of his life, embark on new design projects which clearly foreshadow a change in his design thinking; of these I shall have more to say later in this chapter. Perhaps if Pugin had lived on have seen a re-writing of the True Principles produced in the light of his new interests, and this truly would have been a momentous literary event in the design history of the century, but with the True Principles as we have them we must tread carefully when we consider such issues as Abstract design or Functionalism.

From 1841 we must now move on, several years, to the late forties, the last years of Pugin's short professional career. Above, I have mentioned some new design projects of these later years. The particular advances I have in mind are as yet unrecognised by any biographer or critic of Pugin but form a vital part of the story of his artistic progression. They also form a clean contrast to the design ethic he was putting forward in the True Principles. First, the overall picture of these years from 1849 to 1852: Pugin was still a frantically busy man, but his work was more fragmentary; no more the tasks of the years of his prime,

the St.Chad's,the St.Barnabas',the Mount St.Bernard. Pugin worked at such tasks as the redecoration of Jesus College Chapel;the designing of an altar and reredos for a church,St.Marie's at Sheffield,by the lesser Matthew Hadfield,formerly an ardent disciple of Pugin; the building of the Petre Chantry at a finally completed St.George's, Southwark. Enormous amounts of energy were expended on finishing the work at the Palace of Westminster,and Pugin continued this work even after crippling attacks of illness in the last few months of his life. Then there was the far more congenial,but completely self-financed task of completing St.Augustine 's at Ramsgate,which was a heavy drain on resources and constant cause of work and worry on that account alone. Lastly the grind,which Pugin grew to detest,of arranging the Medieval Court at the Great Exhibition of 1851. The following extracts will give a good idea of the often depressed state Pugin found himself in at this time,and some of the reasons,real and imagined,for it :

I wish I could see any reason for congratulations and hopes for the new year but everything looks disheartening and bad,except in Wigmore Street where I hope some good may be done. But we never had a worse prospect in every way - we seem going from bad to worse,both morally,physically and artistically.(Letter to J.D.Crace,March? 1850; Library of RIBA,MSS Box PUG 7 *)

The time is now so very short that I am sure we can never get the stone work ready for the Exhibition.It is impossible and therefore I do not think it is worth while applying for so large a space.....it is out of the question to produce a great work in

* Pugin's correspondence with John Diblee Crace,now held by the RIBA, is,like most of his letters,generally undated. J.G.Crace,father to J.D., has helped immeasurably by appending a date of receipt to almost all of the letters in this voluminous correspondence. Cross-checks with such other sources as Pugin's Diaries,where possible,attest to the general accuracy of this dating. We may wonder why,though,in this particular letter,Pugin should refer to the New Year in March.

the time, and I am quite satisfied that Hardman is no more able to do anything extensive than the man in the moon. He can hardly execute his orders. How is he to tick off the best men in the place for months to work for spec.? You know that for a whole year we have got nothing yet for your show-room - and how can we ever expect to do better for the Exhibition ?I have written to Hardman to tell him that I am quite certain it is a delusion to suppose we can produce anything important in addition to the ordinary work of the factory.....my own advice is to go for something on a much smaller scale that we really can do - and not go for more.....Everything looks very bad and disheartening. I sometimes think we are great fools for working our lives out in this manner. If I had more means I would cut it altogether.(as above extract, letter dated April 17th.1850 , letter no.25 in Box)

Since I had those fits I have been in a most dejected state - I am sure it was brought on by that detestable amount of Paganism and debasement in that Exhibition. I was a great fool ever to have anything to do with that thing. I quite dread coming up again.* (as above extracts, letter date not known, Box 8, letter no. 8.ii.)

I am very sorry to inform you that my health is so bad and my whole system so shaken that my medical advisors have prohibited me from writing on any subject or undertaking any work calculated to produce excitement. I am truly sorry both for the cause and effect of this state of things but I can assure (sic) I am at present a most severe sufferer, and must be careful.(Letter to Henry Cole, one of a correspondence of 12 letters now at the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, Cole's Correspondence, Box 12, press mark KRC.

* Pugin served on the Jury Committee for Class XXX of exhibits at the Great Exhibition - Sculpture, Models and Plastic Art - (v. Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851, Reports by the Juries on the Subjects in the Thirty Classes into Which the Exhibition was Divided, 4 vols., London, 1852). Since the above extract suggests that the Exhibition had closed, Pugin is possibly referring to a visit to London to fulfil his duties as Juror.

dated August 29th.,presumably 1851)

Amidst all this hard work and depression,illness and disillusionment, were appearing signs of something new and positive. In 1849 the first reference to this creeps into the correspondence with Crace:

I do not think we make enough plain furniture. I shall send you a lot of drawings for plain things and furniture for bed-rooms which could come moderate and suit gothic homes - I am sure these things are very much wanted indeed and would take well.(RIBA Collection as above,Box 6,letter 14,28th.October 1849)

Pugin follows this shortly with three plain chair designs for Crace to make up,to see how they look; he comments in the letter accompanying these plans that there is 'nothing more required,nothing more difficult to get.....'(source as above,Box 6,letter 19). This letter is dated November 24th.1849. Cost is also to be a consideration,so it seems clear that the aim is to set up a range of simple and cheap gothic furniture to fill a place in the market which Pugin believes to be there. The significant point is that Pugin opts for plainness as a means to cheapness,retaining solidity and good construction. There is no suggestion that the rich and elaborate style which he had established should be at all curtailed; the new line was simply complementary to it. The same trend continues in 1850;

The cane chair - I have made several patterns for the rails(?) and styles; the caning of the back should be very simple indeed. I think you should rough one out in pine to see how the proportion of the styles etc.appear,and also how the seat is for size and comfort.(RIBA Collection as above,Box 7,letter 4,15th.January 1950)

Then this same letter continues:

I send you the wider bands for the carpet,2 patterns; I think they will look very rich. Of course,you can vary the colours;the bands,I see,must be enriched with cross lines otherwise they look too much like painting patterns.(ibid.)

This suggests that the scheme for simpler furniture is definitely getting

off the ground . It seems that Pugin does not see any element of competition between the need for richness, and the need for simplicity; but the conscious recognition that these are two separate needs, two distinct fields, united by the same basic principles of good design and construction, is a tremendous step forward over the design theory advocated in the True Principles. For in that work, all the theorising was turned towards the production of one work-style; we see, in these extracts from the Crace correspondence, the emergence of a second. And it tends very much towards the design developments of the two decades after Pugin's own death. Perhaps the nicest of these references to a simple functionalism is the following:

I think you are mistaken about the dining-table; it can hardly be too plain as long as the framing is strong and well constructed. Nobody ever sees a dining-table without a cloth, at least it is not a desirable sight; the great thing is good bracing to keep up the beef and resist the cutting down of the slices.....(RIBA Collection as above, Box 7, letter 23, April 1850)

Which makes a profound appeal to the claims of function over appearance ! Again, though, we can follow up the idea of a parallelism between the rich and the simple at this period. For from the same source comes a letter of 15th. May 1850, where Pugin writes to Crace of an octagonal dining table being made with an inlay top. Pugin speaks of the time-consuming nature of this work and says he is 'not quite at home in these woods yet' which suggests that this type of rich work is a new venture for him, that he is still keenly experimenting with richness. He ends with the comment, 'I think it will look rich and something new in the old way'.*

* The Victoria and Albert Museum has in its furniture gallery a table by Pugin which closely fits this description; the inlay top is a very elaborate piece of work and, curiously, the whole looks quite 'un-Puginian', which may support the view that this was a new venture for Pugin. This is almost certainly the table referred to here.

The most notable letter in this series relating to the use of plainness and simplicity is regrettably undated, even by the zealous elder Grace; we can, however, be quite sure that it dates from the same period as the above letters. Pugin writes:

I am extremely anxious about this plain furniture and I send you at once a lot of drawings. Rely on it, the great sale will be in articles that are within the reach of the middling(?) class, clergymen furnishing parsonage-houses etc.. I should almost advise you to let them out piece-work to your men. You ought to frame(?) a dozen of each to make them pay, and keep them all ready seasoned for putting together at a day's notice, keeping one of a sort always on show. Pray excuse me talking in this way to an old hand like you but I just write what I think on this subject. I am also an old furniture man; I have shown ladies round a ware-room before now.*

* Pugin refers here to a period when, as a young man in his late teens, he ran a business from 12 Hart Street, Covent Garden. He designed and manufactured furniture, but the production side was inefficient and the business soon foundered. A series of letters to a Mrs. Gough of Perry Hall, Birmingham, tells much of the progress of this venture (10 letters, Print Room, Victoria and Albert Museum, in a volume entitled Original Puginiana put together about 1868 by 'R.H.P.' and 'C.H.P.', presumably children of Pugin's son-in-law John Hardman Powell, q.v.; press no. 94 F 54). On June 17th. 1830, the date of the first letter, things are going well, with a large order from Mrs. Gough. By Sept. 28th., however, Pugin is applying for payment from her rising from an 'urgent occasion'; on Oct. 16th. he wanted more money, £100, as 'I have lately sustained a heavy loss in business which has much inconvenienced me'. On Oct. 27th. he refers again to a 'most severe loss I have lately sustained which has much affected me as I have been so short a time in business'. The final letter, Sept. 1st 1831, (written after a long silence from March '31) tells that Pugin has ceased to make up his own designs as the expense of manufacturing them to be 'as handsome as possible' made this unprofitable. He is, he says, reverting to his 'original profession' of architect and designer. This volume of 'Original Puginiana' also contains some of the designs Pugin was producing, which are fascinating examples of his early work.

I am so anxious to introduce a sensible style of good oak, and constructively(?) put together, that shall compete with the vile trash made and sold. These things are very simple and I am certain with a little patience they can be made to pay and sell well..... You must get the oak of this furniture to a nice brown colour and they will look very handsome. Only don't let your father see them or he will swear they are only fit for a Tap-room and that nothing but pipes and beer ought to go there. But I know the feeling that is arising for simple, good things in preference to bad show, of this I am quite certain. (RIBA Collection as above, titled by the elder Grace, 'about furniture of simpler form', but undated; from Box 10, letter 6)

Two specific projects provide us with some instances of the adoption of this new simplicity in design, in addition to the references tabulated above. The more significant is that of Pugin's own house, the Grange, on West Cliff, Ramsgate. This house was begun in 1843, as a tablet on the outside of the south chimney records; * one may therefore deduce that the various items of furniture which Pugin commissioned from Grace for the Grange in 1850 were for a re-furnishing. He seems at this time to have sought furniture that was good, in the old traditions, but plain. In a letter to Grace dated 20th. July 1850 (RIBA Collection, Box 7, letter 40) he asks for a stuffed couch 'of the simplest possible make' for one of the rooms at the Grange; as sometimes happened, he includes a sketch to show Grace roughly what he had in mind. This shows a chaise longue very much of the type to be found in an ordinary home much later in the nineteenth century, truly plain, with no carving or ornament at all. Not that these types of thing were to be austere;

* The house was built first; it was 1845 before work started on the church, St. Augustine's; a Diary entry for Nov. 12th. 1845 reads, 'Set out ground for Church at Ramsgate', and for Dec. 5th. 1845, 'Stone for church arrived'.

included in the order is an easy chair, to be covered with red Utrecht velvet, so Pugin intended a fairly solid air of comfort to be produced. But, later in this letter, he again stresses, 'Everything to be as simple as possible'. On 17th. August 1850 he orders for himself a plain oak dressing-table, stressing again that it should be 'of the plainest description' (RIBA Collection, Box 7, letter 48); also, in the same letter, a chair for the Confessional at St. Augustine's :

.....it should be exceeding plain but of this form (sketch included), strong, a good width and leather on the elbows as the priest has to rest his head on his arms. It should be covered with strong leather or plush of a brown or tawny colour but plain and strong.....(ibid.)

These are all substantial instances of the fact that Pugin was expanding a new style of work in these last years of his life.

The second specific case where we have evidence of the move towards plainness is in, surprisingly enough, some of the later designs for furniture and fittings at the Houses of Parliament. These are not such striking examples as the ones above, as Pugin often qualifies the adoption of simplicity in this case by speaking of the financial exigencies of the job - it will have been noticed by now that, in the instances of plain design that I have cited there are few references to cheapness except where pointing out that the designs are directly aimed at a portion of the market which does not control much money, but does desire good, well-designed things for the home. This is a very different case from the one where the architect/designer is cutting back on expensive detailing and ornamentation so as to squeeze inside his budgetary requirement. Pugin writes to Grace of three pieces for Westminster:

I have kept them very simple for I have no doubt your figure for the job is very low and I imagine they will be better satisfied

with substantial looking furniture than any slighter of a richer description.(RIBA Collection,Box 7,letter 15,6th.March 1850)

Later in the same year we find:

We must have some very simple chairs that will not come very expensive - or the Board of Works will be putting in modern things. (ibid.,Box 7,letter 66,11th.November 1850)

This comes from a letter in which Pugin asks for a lot of 'plain useful chairs',giving two sketches of possibilities. These examples referring to the work at Westminster are,taken alone,far from conclusive. But taken along with the other evidence they do help to make a point. For I believe that,without being casuistical,one can say this: earlier in his life,Pugin would have fought to retain richness in his designs. Here,he acquiesces very easily to the requirement for economy,so easily that one suspects that it falls in with his own growing inclination to design simple things.To close this section is the following extract which relates to the design of a new altar-canopy for St.Giles' at Cheadle,the most elaborate of Pugin's churches and the one often thought to best represent his church-building ideals. In giving his instructions to Grace Pugin asks for the use of red damask,or failing this,tapestry. He adds :

.....and you must say that it has been considered better to suppress all embroidery and keep to the stuff and lace,etc.. I think you might use the words 'preserve a nobler simplicity' - is this a new idea ? I fear not but still it is finely conceived and will go down.(RIBA Collection,Box 8,letter 49 ii, Sept.15th.1851)

In that expression, 'a nobler simplicity',Pugin sums up the distinction between the work he was beginning to do at the end of his life and the dynamic but unbalanced design ethic he was proposing,at least ten years earlier,in the True Principles. This late work truly does look forward, does anticipate the design movements of the next twenty years at least (sixty or seventy might be arguably the more correct figure). What might

have happened if Pugin had not died at the early age of forty, in September 1852, can only be speculation. These frequent expressions of a desire for simplicity and plainness, allied to a constant high quality, do however point to one very likely development. There is never any suggestion that new designs based on these qualities, and on the additional one of convenience in use, should cease to be inspired by the 'true' Gothic example. Nor, at least at this stage, any notion that they should replace the ideal of richness and ornament which had for years formed a major part of Pugin's design ethic. They were to be a complement to the more traditional fields in which Pugin was still hard at work (traditional, that is, from our viewpoint; I do not mean to imply that the bulk of Pugin's work was other than original and, at the time, quite unique). I have made the point earlier in this chapter that it would be special pleading to assert that Pugin's design theory at the beginning of his career looked directly forward to developments later in the century, that he was a 'prophet out of his time'. The True Principles is immutably linked to Catholicism and, one might fairly say, to the years preceding Pugin's full maturity. In this book Pugin did advocate uniformity of design to purpose, the honest use of materials and, as discussed at length above, a type of functionalism. But he did all this in the light of such a symbolic interpretation of the idea of 'purpose' as to set him far apart from later generations of designers. From evidence gathered from the later years one can fill in some of the gaps, one can say that by the end of his life Pugin truly was anticipating the work which was to follow his death.

After lengthy discussion of two important periods of Pugin's career as a designer it is necessary, before this chapter is concluded, that the balance should be redressed and a little said of the overall great achievement of Pugin's life. Forty years after his death his

friend Grace wrote an article entitled A.W.Pugin and Furniture, paying tribute to Pugin's achievement in that field. The statements made by Grace can be read with a wider relevance to give us a contemporary view, delivered after the lapse of sufficient years to allow that view to be balanced and devoid of the inaccuracies of immediacy and close friendship. Grace writes:

The new infusion of life and thought and character into both (i.e. the architect and the craftsman) I believe to be primarily due to A.W.Pugin. I am not blind to the great services in this direction rendered by other men now living. But it was Pugin who laid down the road and pointed the way. To identify Pugin only with the Gothic Revival is to do him much less than justice. By defining for the first time in the History of Art what are the immutable laws which must govern all constructive design, if it is to appeal successfully to human intelligence; and by doing this in vigorous, manly and fearless language; and, best of all, by himself breaking through all difficulties and putting his own principles into constant practice, he compelled everyone engaged in architecture or design to listen to him. The principles of adjusting design to requirement and ornament to construction seem obvious enough now. They have been preached with every refinement of language; and the writer who, eight or ten years after Pugin's vigorous promulgation of them, adopted them as his own, and held Pugin up to ridicule, if more widely read, practically carried the arguments no further. But Pugin, who found all the crafts allied to architecture sunk to the lowest level to which, artistically, they had ever been degraded, did not stop to mourn, or to pour contempt on the manufacturer. On the contrary he sought out the manufacturer and so convinced him of error, and of the truth of the message he had to deliver, that the manufacturer became an ardent and enthusiastic convert, eager to work for a leader who knew his own mind, and could make his objects and methods intelligible. (Journal of the RIBA, 3rd. Series, vol. 1, November 1893 - October 1894, p. 517)

He refers to the weighty, main-stream contribution made by Pugin to the progress of nineteenth-century architecture and art-manufacture; also

to the correlation between what Pugin had to say and what John Ruskin (the 'writer' to whom Crace refers - and one feels how advisedly he chose that word, to point the difference between Pugin, the man who practised and wrote, and Ruskin, who merely wrote; *Crace's slight bitterness is not fully justifiable, but is quite understandable) put forward. He fails to notice the greater breadth of the field which Ruskin covered in his prolific life.

When I try to trace these interesting links, as I have done above, between Pugin, the Arts and Crafts people, William Morris, even C.A. Voysey, and others, I do so in the constant awareness that the bulk of Pugin's achievement was as Crace here states it to have been; in driving on the medievalist movement which was so important to the nineteenth century; in fostering craftsmanship; in vastly raising the standard of art-manufacture. The reputation of Crace and Hardman stands as a firm memorial to that, and many great Victorian architects, George Gilbert Scott foremost among them, were prepared to acknowledge a debt to Pugin. The chapter above is intended to supplement this awareness of Pugin's achievement, not to replace it.

Finally I include two further extracts from Crace's assessment:

Let anyone who would judge this man's power, and who knows something of the state of Art in England in 1840, take a walk through the Houses of Parliament and reflect that the carving, the woodwork, the metalwork, the tiles, the stained glass, the furniture, were done in the seven or eight years following by men who had been ignorant that there existed a principle of design of any kind till he trained them. (op.cit.)

Above all he taught - so successfully that a younger generation has come to regard it as a truism, self-evident from the very beginning - that there are laws connecting design with constructive

* A rhetorical point, of course; Crace was fully aware of Ruskin's other attainments, e.g. his drawing ability.

motive which must remain true for all time and for all styles. The younger men cannot conceive a time when no such truth had been expressed or recognised, and even the criticism of all design was supposed to be simply a question of taste.....Thousands of workers had learnt what he meant and had been daily practising what he taught.(op.cit.)

One cannot today agree totally with Grace's recognisably Victorian viewpoint; but one can admit the justice of the larger part of what he has to say. It is for the propagation of principles of good design and the re-creation of the skills to carry them out that we accord to Pugin all the credit we can. Only when the question shifts to that of 'abstract principles' must we, for reasons outlined earlier, be careful that we do not give credit for the wrong reasons. There is, I hope I have proved, credit to be awarded to Pugin in these realms; but we do Pugin no service in creating him harbinger of functionalism and abstract design unless we realise when, and how, his interest in such topics developed.

Conclusions :

The general conclusions of this chapter are made clear above; but it is also necessary to append a short conclusion to relate this chapter to the overall argument of the thesis, and particularly to the preceding chapter.

The previous chapter dealt with religious developments; it showed that up to 1846 Pugin worked hard and successfully at furthering the church-building programme of the Catholics, and the Catholic revival in general. He built in these earlier years many important churches and other works, and his publications were controversial, influential,

and widely noticed. But there are clear signs, from the very first, of tensions in Pugin's relationship with the Catholic establishment and by 1846 these signs were becoming markedly clearer. The continuation of this pattern of events will be the task of a later chapter.

On the side of artistic development we see a similar success story in the earlier years. Pugin was making in the early forties a clear statement of a system of artistic ideals and principles, and working according to these. He had a prolific design output. Also he was building up an art-manufacture network, which others have dealt with; so I have passed lightly over it here. After some initial disappointments, such as his dissatisfaction with the work of Wailes and Warrington in stained glass, Pugin built up his well known core of craftsmen - Hardman, Minton, Crace, Myers - and used them to the end of his life. With the exception of Minton, whose firm had a large separate existence, these people had much to thank Pugin for, in terms of the reputation he brought to them.

Late in the forties the position changed; Pugin's work became generally of a different sort, less artistically satisfying to him (except for his own project at Ramsgate). In particular the Palace of Westminster and the Great Exhibition of 1851, where Pugin arranged the Medieval Court, became extremely onerous tasks for him. But, as I have shown, a new style of work was emerging for Pugin. I have discussed this largely in terms of its true importance in the nineteenth-century history of architecture and design but it also had great importance in the development of Pugin's life in that it paralleled a great change in his own situation in these late years, as later chapters will describe. He kept on with his old style of work right up to the end of his life but was looking also to other fields, such as that of plainness and

simplicity in design. In this he did anticipate in his practice much of what was to come in nineteenth-century design. It was a different development from the view he had put forward, ten years previously, in the True Principles, though these early principles were the ones on which most of his fame, success and achievement as an artist was based.

Historicism - The Contribution made by Pugin's Theory of History to
His Work, 1830-1852 :

Pugin's main scholastic interest was the study of history; more particularly the history of the Medieval Church, all aspects of the English Reformation and of the tribulations of the English Catholics since that event. Clearly his architectural interests led to a study of many old churches which contained parish registers and records and much of Pugin's historical knowledge came from these primary sources. He also read widely and possessed an extensive library which gave ample scope for a more conventional development of his historical interests. Pugin was a historian in a full sense, using his wide knowledge in a consistent, interpretative way to form a cogent historical theory for the topics he studied. It is worthwhile to consider Pugin seriously as an historian, and illuminating to examine the progress of his study of history, throughout his life, and the relevance it bears to his other pursuits and pre-occupations. Since this is a side of Pugin's many-faceted character which has not previously been given full consideration I propose to devote some lengthy discussion to it here. Both for its intrinsic interest and for the light it throws on those crisis-points in Pugin's life which are the chief interest of this thesis, this will be a worthwhile study.

As Pugin's life and career moved on, so did his historical writings change in their interpretation of events; on close scrutiny it becomes apparent that the tribulations and disappointments of Pugin's late years are reflected in the slant of his late historical writing, just as the hope and enthusiasm of the early forties are mirrored in the crisp confidence of Contrasts. The history that I am speaking of was Catholic history - Pugin was a Catholic historian as others were Whig

historians, for instance- ; all historians enjoin impartiality but few really achieve it, as the pressures and predilections of their background and environment are all-pervasive. Pugin did not claim impartiality; but, perhaps surprisingly, we do not often feel that what he says in his books is unacceptable simply because of its Catholic slant. Prejudice as such is not acceptable, so there are some occasions when the reader feels that Pugin has overstepped the mark, that he is destroying his own case by his all too obvious desire to run down his opponents. But we must remember that he wrote in what was still a semi-hostile environment. Contrasts first appeared only seven years after the emancipation act of 1829 which gave back to Catholics, amidst a great deal of furore, most of their legal rights. It was also contemporary with the first publication, in Canada (though before 1840 an English edition was available, and doubtless copies circulated here before that), of the popular and unbelievably rabid, anti-Catholic Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk. *Pugin's own intemperance in expressing his views must, at least in the years up to the early forties, be seen in the context of this background of fierce latent antagonism. This does not pardon historical inaccuracy or bias in the reporting of fact, if it is found that these charges can sometimes be made against Pugin the historian, but it makes this offence understandable. A certain inflexibility in Pugin's handling of historical detail, which may affect

* Supposedly a true account of life in a Canadian nunnery written by Maria Monk, a young nun who managed to escape; the account is full of corruption, fraud, illicit sex, sadism and murder of adults and new-born children, carried on by nuns and priests. Many people were all too ready to take such accounts seriously. The Dublin Review for May '36 (1st. Series, Vol. 1, No. 1, Art. VII, pp. 151-74, 'Maria Monk's Black Nunnery') treats this book seriously and attempts a logical rebuttal of it. This article also refers to a '36 London edition from the original New York one of '35, though I have found no other mention of such an edition.

the reader's confidence in its authenticity, should more properly be interpreted as a result of an aggressively defensive attitude and the constant expectation of prejudiced anti-Catholic censure.

Early interest in History :

In my second chapter I have shown how, from about 1832 to 1835, Pugin seems to have immersed himself in studies; the chief result of this was his growing interest in and finally conversion to Catholicism. A second result was the gaining of an interest and grounding in history. An early notebook referred to in Ch.2 *, with reference to a book-list which it contains, also gives us evidence of historical study in some depth currently being undertaken by Pugin. In presentation this notebook resembles the earliest of Pugin's Diaries - i.e. for '35-'37 - in that it displays a neatness quite uncharacteristic of Pugin's later hand-writing. Also, like these Diaries, it contains neat lists and charts of which the young Pugin seems to have been inordinately fond - charts of dates, of tide times, small hand-drawn charts relating to his sailing activities and the like. Once a busy professional man, Pugin, presumably to save time, adopted a hasty scribbled hand and ceased to fill notebooks with such things. The Gough correspondence to which I referred a few pages back also shows, in some of the letters, that

* Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, press no. 86 MM 37, distinguished by 'CAEN OCTOBER 1823' written on the cover; of general interest, this notebook contains a two-page-long list, apparently random, of historical events. Battles, the foundation dates of European universities, and such inexplicable items as the following: 'Fornication capital for second offence May 14th. 1650; window tax passed Feb. 5th. 1716; barometers invented 1643; 'Dieu et Mon Droit' first used 1194; fire engines invented 1663; organs invented 751; pawnbrokers began 1457; roses first planted in England 1552'. Pugin clearly had a most acquisitive mind.

characteristic untidiness which would therefore seem to be a fault against which young Pugin struggled for a time, then yielded. In this instance it helps us to date this early notebook as being, at latest, contemporary with Contrasts (1836) and almost certainly pre-dating it by a year or two. The notebook contains three and a half closely written pages on characters and movements of the anti-Catholic Reformation in fifteenth-century Europe: Luther (one whole page) is treated in some detail; the Zwinglians, Carlostadius (Archdeacon of Wittenberg and disciple of Luther), Ochino the Socinian, Beza, Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, Rogers and Hooper are all mentioned and have been the objects of some detailed study. Following this comes three pages on Papal Supremacy and the Apostolic Succession, theological argument with supporting texts and examples and two pages headed 'Religious Observances'. Then a further page of notes on the reformation movement, arrests of priests, executions and burnings (again, extending to Europe as well as England for the burning of twenty-four Dutch Protestants is noted). Inasfar as he maintains a consistent historical attitude, Pugin's point with regard to the English Church seems to be that the Protestant officials of the reformed church practised a pure opportunism; its priesthood used and still professed the forms of the old Catholicism, but arrested and persecuted true Catholics at the same time as not permitting, and equally violently punishing, overt extreme Protestantism.

Quoted from this notebook, the following represents the earliest recorded comment made by Pugin on the state of the late-medieval Catholic church, a subject on which he was later to have much to say: it is taken from a page of close writing on one Cardinal Julian who, as Pugin put it, 'represented the bad state of the church to Eugenius 4th.' in these words :

It will be said that the clergy are incorrigible and will apply

no remedy to their disorders. When they shall no longer have any hopes of our amendment they will fall upon us. The minds of men are pregnant with expectation of what measures will be adopted and are ready for the birth of something tragic. The rancour they have imbibed against us becomes manifest. They will soon think it an agreeable sacrifice to God to abuse and rob ecclesiasticks as abandoned to extreme disorders and hateful to God and man. I see, said he, the axe is at the root. The tree begins to bend and instead of propping it whilst in our power we accelerate its fall. The desire of depriving them of their temporal goods would form the first spring of motion. Bodies and souls will perish together. God hides from us the prospect of our dangers as he is accustomed to do with those he destines for punishment. We run into the fire which we see lighted before us. (From above cited notebook by Pugin; no source is given for the account and opinions expressed as being those of Cardinal Julian.)

This resembles the opinion, more forcefully put, given by Alphonso, King of Aragon, to the same Pope, Eugenius 4th., in 1440: 'The Roman Church is already a very harlot'.* This quotation, selected by Pugin, is of interest because it demonstrates a particular attitude towards the Catholic church on his part. In Contrasts (1st. edn.), as I will show below, Pugin will brook no criticism of the role played by his church in the religious upheavals of reformation; he puts the blame squarely on corruption rising from protestant tendencies. The view he demonstrates above pre-dates even this early view; for he is blaming Catholics for the Reformation which took place throughout Europe and specifically stating the words of one Cardinal, 'instead of propping it whilst in our power we accelerate its fall', referring to the 'fall' of Catholicism. The only conclusions to be drawn from this are : either this extract is a much later addition to the notebook, when Pugin's views had changed (v. later in this chapter for details); inspection of this notebook demonstrates this solution to be practically impossible, as this entry so closely resembles all the others; or we have here a pre-conversion historical opinion on the state of the Catholic church

* v.G.R.Owst, Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England, 1966 edn., p.286 fn.

of the fifteenth century. Once converted, Pugin then radically altered his interpretative view, taking account much more of that evidence which suggested protestant activity as the cause of the decline of Catholicism.

History and the 1st. Edition of Contrasts :

In this 1836 edition of his great work Pugin took a thoroughly traditional Catholic view of the English Reformation. He gives to Chapter Three the title, 'Of the Pillage and Destruction of the Churches under Henry the Eighth', and he begins it thus :

King Henry the Eighth, finding all the hopes he had conceived of the Pontiff's acquiescence in his unlawful divorce totally at an end, determined to free himself from all spiritual restraint of the Apostolic see; and, for that purpose, caused himself to be proclaimed supreme head of the English Church. This arrogant and impious step drew forth the indignation of those who had the constancy and firmness to prefer the interests of religion to the will of a tyrant, and who boldly represented the injustice and impiety of a layman pretending to be the supreme head of a Christian Church. (Contrasts, Ch. 3, p. 21 *)

The reappearance of this paragraph in the 1841 edition shows that there is little to be questioned or revised in the statement that the personality and temporal needs of Henry VIII provided a catalyst to begin the break from Rome. Nor was there subsequent need to revise

* As I have before stated, for convenience I refer to the 1969 Leicester University Press reprint of the 1841 edn. for pagination. In this subsection dealing with the earlier edn., relevant differences will be pointed out. In this case, the Chapter heading is altered in 1841 by addition of the words, 'Of the Protestant Principle and the Pillage....' and an introductory five-line paragraph is omitted. Also a short passage at the end of the chapter is amended, but otherwise Chapter Three remains unaltered.

the revilement of Henry which followed on from the above - '..... amongst the numerous victims who suffered on this occasion, the names of those learned and pious men, Bishop Fisher, Thomas More, and Abbot Whiting, need only be cited to shew the injustice and cruelty of this merciless tyrant'. This, and more, of the tyranny and repression practised by Henry is retained in the later edition and is, as it were, the staple of any Catholic history of the Reformation. It is a positive and uncomplicated assertion that the exercise of power to political and fiscal ends, practised by a strong ruler, began a process of disintegration in the body against which the attack was directed, the Catholic Church in England. Even in 1836, however, Pugin is seeing the less positive and simple side of the case with some subtlety :

It is a very common error to suppose that the change of religion in this country was the result of popular feeling, but the mass of the people, on the contrary, were warmly attached to the ancient faith: the truth is, that the great fabric of the Church was undermined, by degrees, one step producing another, till, like all revolutions, it far exceeded the intentions of its first advocates; and I do believe that, had Henry himself foreseen the full extent to which his first impious step would lead, he would have been deterred by the dreadful prospect from proceeding in his career. He was the father of persecution against the tenets of Protestantism in this country.

By his Six Articles, he confirmed all the leading tenets of the Catholic faith; and, indeed, the only alteration he made in the mass itself was, erasing the prayer for the Pope, and the name of St. Thomas a Becket, from the missals. In fine, images were retained in churches, the sacrifice of the mass everywhere offered up, in the usual manner, and the rites of the old religion performed, with only this difference, that their splendour was greatly reduced, in consequence of the King having appropriated all the richest ecclesiastical ornaments to his own use.

It is impossible, therefore, that Henry can be, by any means,

ranked among the number of what are termed Reformers.....

(Contrasts, Ch. 3, pp. 24-5)

Here Pugin is leaving the sphere of Catholic historical propaganda (by which I do not imply that which is untruthful, but rather that which has the primary intention of placing a Catholic interpretation on a body of fact which does not point unequivocally towards one single solution) and entering that of the true historian. He proposes the truths, unpopular as they may have been with his Catholic readership, that an English population still Catholic by inclination was steered towards schism. The precise reason for this is unclarified, but Pugin makes the considerable concession that Henry was, if not Romae Defensor, at least in many ways Fidei Defensor even after the ostensible breach with things Catholic.

This is a thinking man's interpretation of the reign of Henry VIII and comprises an intelligible and supportable argument, quite striking for the year in which it was propounded. It is not surprising, therefore, that this chapter retained its place, almost unaltered, in the 1841 edition. With some noteworthy exceptions the text of the 1836 Contrasts is a poor affair and it is generally admitted that the work's reputation rests largely on the quality of the attached plates which have won wide acclaim. The antagonism of the times must have been great, in view of the book's overall intellectual shoddiness, for it to have gained the reputation for controversy which it clearly did. An objective and careful critical analysis from a respected source might well have destroyed the book before Pugin gained much renown from it. But it was received as vehemently as Pugin had intended, and cold reason played little part in the subsequent furore. Pugin's extensive revision of Contrasts in the light of his own development from 1836 to 1841 is therefore completely understandable. But for the

consideration of historical interest it is well worth looking at the second chapter of the first edition, which was completely expunged from the later version. Originally this chapter was entitled 'On the State of Architecture in England Immediately Preceding the Change of Religion', and it was primarily concerned with the condition of architecture within the Catholic network at this time. However it holds also the more general implication that, if the architecture was blossoming, the establishment behind it must have been fairly healthy :

Here, therefore, on the eve of the great change of religion, we find architecture in a high state of perfection, both as regards design and execution; we find it proceeding with activity and unity to the eleventh hour, inasmuch that, when the blow was struck, many great edifices were in a state of progress, and the unfinished condition in which we still see them is entirely owing to the great change which at once prevented their completion and destroyed those sentiments which had prompted their foundation. (Contrasts, 1st. edition only, Ch. 2, p. 5)

The implication here is of a still booming organisation at which, quite suddenly, a 'blow was struck' such as to completely alter its status. This view of the effect of the Reformation on the Catholic Church in England is at once naive and misleading and in view of Pugin's grasp of the essentials of historical study, as demonstrated elsewhere in Contrasts, it constitutes a specimen of propaganda in its worst sense - a realignment of the facts to suit a preordained theory. The learned Appendices to Contrasts demonstrate Pugin's extensive consultation of primary source materials; we cannot therefore surmise that lack of knowledge brought about this misinterpretation. It can only be that this view expressed in Chapter Two of the 1836 Contrasts is the result of misapprehensions engendered by the absolute trust in the rightness of the Catholic cause which Pugin felt at this stage of his life.

To review briefly, the case of Pugin as historian stands at present thus: he developed a serious historical interest several years before his conversion, years which he spent largely in study. An extant notebook provides us with evidence of this early interest. Writing before his conversion Pugin understood that corruption set in to the European Catholic Church (and was brought to the notice of the Pope) many years before the date of the commencement of the English Reformation. (The Pope in question, Eugenius 4th., was primate from 1431-1447.) In the first edition of Contrasts, written between one and two years after conversion, Pugin shows the makings of an acute historian; but he also rescinds the above view, choosing now to express the English Reformation as a 'sudden blow' struck at a progressive and healthy Catholic Church. This he does in a chapter which was expunged from the later, revised edition of Contrasts (1841). This change, springing from the sincere conviction attendant upon his conversion and the desire to defend the Roman Church against the world, is a markedly, even culpably propagandist one.

The Second Edition of Contrasts :

The 1841 Contrasts was a longer book with larger appendices, changes to the text and some alterations and additions to the illustrative plates. The completely re-written second chapter, instead of two pages of print, runs now to a dozen; it has the new title, 'On the Revived Pagan Principle', and unlike its predecessor contains explicit argument outside the scope of architecture :

In England, as the succeeding pages will show, the buildings have almost exclusively suffered through the destructive or Protestant principle; but this was not, as I have before remarked, in itself a cause, but the effect of Catholic degeneracy, and we must view its ravages as the scourge of the decayed and compromising

Church of England. As all the matter of the first edition of this book referred to this country, it is not altogether surprising that I should have overlooked the revival of Paganism, and attributed the loss of Catholic art exclusively to Protestant opinions: I now most readily retract my former error in this respect, and have endeavoured to assign to each principle its real share in the destruction of Christian productions.

I was perfectly right in the abstract fact that the excellence of art was only to be found in Catholicism, but I did not draw a sufficient distinction between Catholicism in its own venerable garb, or as disguised in the modern externals of Pagan corruption. (Contrasts, 2nd. edition, 1841, Ch. 2, p. 15)

The justification on the grounds of nationalism, of concern with and reference to the English position only in the earlier Contrasts, confessedly ignoring the European context, is a weak one. One feels that its introduction here is a formality to soften the impact of the admission of error which was to follow. Pugin is now unequivocally admitting to two distinct anti-Catholic forces: 'the destructive or Protestant principle', and 'the revival of Paganism'. The former is what Pugin had, up until the publication of the revised book, seen as the sole cause of the Reformation, insofar as we can ascertain his views since he had become a Catholic. The latter is Pugin's way of terming what we should call, less provocatively, the Renaissance; it is this force or movement, Pugin is now saying, which brought about a 'Catholic degeneracy' which allowed the Protestant cause to be born. So when Pugin says, '.....I did not draw a sufficient distinction between Catholicism in its own venerable garb, or as disguised in the modern externals of Pagan corruption', (by 'modern' he means to say, contemporary with the Reformation) he is making a highly significant departure from the stand of the 1836 Contrasts. He is allowing an opinion formed through the study of prima facie historical evidence to alter his view of an event intimately connected with, and reflecting on, his beloved Catholic church.

Criticism of the state of that church in the early sixteenth century, and even before that, is here explicitly admitted and the Catholic church is therefore assigned the role of having assisted by default in its own downfall. Pugin reverts here, in fact, to the implied view of the case as put in the complaint by Cardinal Julian to Pope Eugenius 4th., which I have shown to originate, almost certainly, in Pugin's pre-conversion days. True, the admission he makes is veiled by nominating as the active participant an undefined 'Pagan corruption' which is strongly emotive, and in that sense unhistorical in implication. But even the passive statement of role, that the Catholic church did not strive strenuously to re-establish its position after corruption was seen to have set in, is not one that the Historian of the 1836 Contrasts would have tolerated, far less the active accusation whose truth he here admits.

If the dual forces of degeneracy and paganism (or Renaissance thought) intruded into the management of the Catholic church prior to the growth of the Protestant movements in Europe, in what way does this affect the status of the Papacy as Pugin sees it? It is a strong possibility that this question, and Pugin's inability to answer it to his own complete satisfaction, underlies the development later in the forties when Pugin's relationship with his church became increasingly fraught with difficulties; for instance, he despised the growing Oratorian movement which Newman was developing after his conversion. This and other difficulties will form the subject matter of a later chapter. The task of the remainder of this present one is to trace the part played by Pugin's study and use of history and historiography, in short his historicism, in the development of his attitude to and relation with his church over those years. Historical research will

be shown to have loomed large in this process.

The Middle Years :

The trend that I am trying to trace in the historical writing of Pugin is not always a clear one. However, further progress in the direction he was taking in 1841 can be shown in his book, An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England (London, Weale, 1843) :

The spirit of Dunstan, of Anselm, and St. Thomas, were (sic) extinct ere that of Cranmer could have prevailed. We must not forget that this country was separated from the Holy See by the consent of the canonically instituted clergy of this realm, with a few noble but rare exceptions. The people were actually betrayed by their own lawful pastors. There were no missionaries from the Holy See to dispense the sacraments to those who remained faithful. And this vital change was effected without the least external demonstration: protestant opinions were not even broached till some years after the schism; the externals of religion remained precisely the same; and even when open scenes of sacrilege and violence began, they were conducted in some measure by authority: mass was sung by the old clergy in Canterbury, while the bones of its saintly martyr were burning in the garth, and his name and festival were erased by the churchmen from every missal and breviary in the country; while men of family and distinction, professing the old faith, and receiving the sacraments according to the ancient ritual, shared the property of the Church with avidity.....I mention these things, because it is a common error, into which I was formerly led, to cast the whole odium of the loss of the ancient faith in England on the king and nobles, whereas the Catholic hierarchy of this land, who basely surrendered the sacred charge they should have defended even to death, essentially contributed to the sad change. It is true they never contemplated the possibility of such a state of things as we see, or, indeed, which shortly succeeded to their base compliance; and many who

had weakly consented afterwards rallied, but too late. It is a true saying, 'C'est le premier pas qui coûte;' and so indeed it turned out, to our bitter cost. (An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture, 1843, p. 46)

Pugin was here avowedly back with the limited, English view of the Reformation, not the European one he attempted when writing the 1841 Contrasts. So he does not attempt to cover the issue of the role played by the Papacy in the schism, or even why the English Catholic clergy became so uncaring. Instead he rather blankets this side of the question by referring to the 'spirit' of the old churchmen as an extinct phenomenon. In later years Pugin was to move even further away from his view as expressed in 1836; but here he puts forward the essentials of a balanced historical view of the events of the English Reformation in terms of the part played by the Catholic clergy and the current anomalies within that body of men.

Unlike Contrasts, these slightly later works of which the Apology is one instance (i.e. the Present State and the True Principles as well) are not greatly concerned with the events of history or historical exegesis. In keeping with Pugin's intensely busy life as architect and designer in these years coming rapidly to the zenith of his career, the books he wrote then tend to be practical treatises or treatments of his design principles. The religious content is of course omnipresent, but history takes something of a back-seat, with exceptions such as the passage above from the Apology. * So there is a period of

* In this context the Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume (London, Bohn, 1844) should be mentioned. Though, like Pugin's other publications of this period, it is primarily a functional book it does have strong historical overtones. That is, it is in part a historical survey of the items of ecclesiastical use which it surveys. It is difficult to know what proportion of this work may be attributed to Pugin since he was assisted by his friend the Rev. Bernard Smith of Oscott (indeed the

some eight years during which Pugin's use of historical studies makes no apparent headway; then, from 1849 until his death, comes a sudden upsurge in his historical interests. The possible reasons for this must for the most part be deferred to a later chapter, but one can say now that this upsurge formed a coherent part of the preoccupations of Pugin's last years. In the course of the intervening eight years Pugin had lived a professional lifetime *. Also a private one: his second wife, Louisa, had died in 1844 and been buried at St. Chad's. After two, or possibly even three, frustrated engagements Pugin had remarried in August 1848, the ceremony taking place at his St. George's, Southwark. His third wife, Jane Knill, came from a family Pugin had known for some time; she outlived her husband by many years, surviving until the turn of the century. The four years in which he was without a wife must have added considerably to Pugin's worries as he had several growing children to look after. By 1849 Pugin was, as his correspondence shows (v. the preceding chapter) disillusioned, often depressed, frequently seriously ill and increasingly at odds with the developments of the Catholic revival.

The first published work to suggest overtly a new direction in Pugin's thoughts and a return to some of his historical preoccupations appears in 1849, in the Weekly Register of Oct. 6th. (Vol. 1, No. 10).

* Professor Stanton provides an extensive list of Pugin's architectural works over this period (Pugin, pp. 199-207) which it is unnecessary for me to repeat here.

(contd. from footnote overleaf) 2nd. edition, 1846, includes the blurb, 'enlarged and revised by the Rev. Bernard Smith', as if Pugin had had no part in the extensive scholastic additions and alterations in that edition). This book does not, however, materially add to the historical discussion of the present chapter.

This article has the title, 'A Defence of the Revival of Pointed Ecclesiastical Architecture in Reply to some Recent Attacks', with the sub-title, 'Why This Waste'. It is a short article, and in the course of it Pugin attacks a section of his own Catholic church, 'by the side of whom the genuine Protestant, who, consistently, stands up for four walls and a roof, becomes quite respectable'. He continues :

We have here the astounding spectacle of men, members of the household of faith, brilliant and talented men, prostituting those very talents (with which God has imbued them) to the worst purposes - endeavouring to write down the restoration of Christian architecture, and ridiculing those hallowed symbols and traditions bequeathed to us, by our forefathers, in the faith. (op.cit.)

What does this internequine attack on Pugin's part mean ? Ostensibly it must be aimed at the Oratorian movement; under Newman, the English Oratory at Birmingham had been established in February 1848 and was followed quite soon by the London Oratory, set up at Brompton in May 1849 under Faber *. In a letter to Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, Pugin's close friend, Newman writes on the subject :

Now for Oratorians, the birth of the 16th century, to assume the architecture simply and unconditionally of the 13th, would be as absurd as their putting on them the cowl of the Dominicans or adopting the tonsure of the Carthusians. We do not want a cloister or a chapter room but an Oratory. I, for one, believe that Gothic can be adapted, developed into the requisitions of an Oratory. Mr. Pugin does not; he implied, in conversation with me at Rome, that he would as soon build a mechanic's institute as an Oratory.....is it not wonderful that he should so

* In addition to Pugin's general objections to the Oratorian plans, he had had a private dispute with Fr. Faber over the issue of architectural forms in religion. This took place in May and June 1848 - v. Letters of J.H. Newman, ed. C.S. Dessain, Vol. XII, letters to A.L. Phillipps dated 3rd. and 15th. June 1848. There was much high feeling in this matter.

relentlessly and indissolubly unite the principles of his great art with the details ? (Letters of J.H.Newman,ed.Dessain, vol.XII,p.221,letter to A.L.Phillipps dated 15th.June 1848) *

If,then,as seems certain,it is the Oratorian body at whom Pugin's comments in the Weekly Register are chiefly aimed what,if any,is their wider import ? Pugin's own preoccupation with the historical, medieval traditions of his religion is manifestly as strong as ever. He feels,though,that general interest in this respect is weakening,in short that the Oratorian viewpoint carries weight,so he attacks it. His attack takes two forms,though these are linked together. First, an emotive attack,as typified here; second,the revival,with marked alterations,of his historical arguments which he had allowed to lie fallow for some years.

The Historical Viewpoint of the Late Years :

What I have called the 'emotive' attack must first be dealt with briefly. In 1850 Pugin published An Earnest Appeal for the Revival of the Ancient Plain Song (London,Dolman,1850) **. This was an attempt

* While on his long continental tour,embracing much of Italy,in 1847, Pugin called on Newman at Rome. The date given for this visit is 26th. April 1847 (v.Letters of Newman,as above,under that date)

** A mistake is still perpetuated among Pugin bibliographies by the inclusion of a work entitled The Present State of Worship Among the Roman Catholics,by a Roman Catholic(London,1850). This is in fact the publication of an organisation known as the English Churchmen,whose claim it was to be a middle-of-the-road body leaning excessively neither to Latitudinarianism nor to Catholicism but seeking'to promote a strict and faithful obedience to the Doctrines and Practices of the Book of Common Prayer'. They refer to Pugin as a 'zealous,intelligent and much-esteemed Roman Catholic'. Their pamphlet is a reprint of pages 1-7 of the Plain Song,with a slight commentary added.

to further the long-standing cause of the re-institution of medieval musical forms, notably the Gregorian plain-chant, in religious services. Pugin had begun this attempt long ago, when first associated with John Hardman and the cathedral choir of St. Chad's. Ambrose Lisle Phillipps had also long been a campaigner for the old style of church music, and was perhaps more expert than Pugin on this topic. In 1847 he published a Little Gradual or Chorister's Companion, of which his biographer says :

The Little Gradual was not an ambitious work, but was merely intended to provide a manual of plain chaunt.....for the use of choristers of village churches and chapels, where it might be difficult to procure copies of the authorised choir books of the Church - the Gradual, the Antiphonal, the Processional, the Ritual, and the Pontifical. (The Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps by E.S. Purcell, London, Macmillan, 1900, vol. 2, pp. 184-5)

Pugin's Plain Song, though rooted in church history, does not rely on historical method to carry its point. He avers in the course of the pamphlet that ignorance largely accounts for the attitude of the public towards the old chants, but does nothing tangible to dispel that ignorance. Instead he relies on the by now familiar weapon of the pseudo-historical invocation (v. my chapter of consideration of Pugin's literary qualities for more detail), a major part of his polemic armoury :

What can be more perfect, what more edifying and consoling than that Divine Office, the compilation of so many saints and glorious men, and which is so wonderful in the perfection of its system and composition, that the more it is studied, the more it gains on our reverence and love ! What appropriate fitness in all the Antiphons, what noble simplicity in the hymns ! While the chaunt of the Psalter has an almost sacramental power in calming a troubled spirit and leading the soul to God; these were the divine chaunts that penetrated the heart of St. Augustine, and though many centuries have elapsed, they have not lost one fraction of their influence. (Plain Song, pp. 16-17)

Pugin appears here to be referring to the past to strengthen his case; in fact he is referring only to an emotional appeal made by that past, not to any correct representation of it. He sometimes moved between the presentation of authentic historical evidence, and this emotional, pseudo-historical appeal, without correctly distinguishing between the two very different things. Here he is utilising the latter. He makes the plea by trying to invoke verbally the exact original appeal which plain-song made to the religious, referring to such inexact terms as 'spirit'. Having claimed, as I say, that ignorance lay at the root of the neglect of church music, this form of argument is quite inappropriate. The result is an ill-judged pamphlet, written neither as from an informed musician, which Pugin was not, nor as from the informed church-historian as which, in this instance, he failed to show himself. The pamphlet consequently lacks weight.

The resuscitation of the historical side of Pugin soon gained momentum after this false start. In 1851 was published his An Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy (London, Dolman) *.

* This wording is from the title page of the 1st. edition; at the head of the first page is the title, 'An Earnest Address on the Subject of the Hierarchy'. In 1875 this work was reissued with the title, Church and State or Christian Liberty, an Earnest..... (as '51 title page). The 3rd. edition of this textually identical 1875 version, which appeared in the same year, has letters from Newman, Canon Liddon and W.E. Gladstone to Edward Pugin, which are courtesy letters, and includes a letter of February 15th. 1851, from A.W. Pugin to Archbishop Wiseman discussing the imputations of heresy made against him as a result of this book. Wiseman was clearly shown the text before publication; this 3rd. edition, 1875, has the dating, 'The Grange, Ramsgate, 1850', at the end of the text, which shows that Pugin wrote it in that year (though this date does not appear in the 1851 edition). Pugin's Diary for 1851 records for 16th. February, 'Sent MSS off to Dolman', so there was a sufficient gap between the dates of writing and publication for it to have been shown to Wiseman. Professor Stanton (Pugin, p. 211) gives the title, 'An Earnest Address on the Re-establishment.....', but this occurs only on the first page of the 1875 edition text.

There is, as will become clear, very little indeed in the substance of the Earnest Address which was not hinted at, or implied or, far more often, openly stated in the 1841 Contrasts; speaking, that is, in terms of historical content. The difference, and it is a crucial one, lies in the explicitness and intention with which the body of facts is amassed and detailed. Quite unambiguously, Pugin's role now becomes that of the interpretative historian, not the Catholic historian. At its most extreme points, indeed, some have even said that there was an intention to positively damage Catholicism - hence the imputations of heresy repudiated by Pugin in the letter to Wiseman contained in the 1875 edition of this work.

The Earnest Address begins with an apologia stating the intention to attempt some form of rapprochement between the Anglican and Catholic churches - in itself an astonishing enough statement for Pugin to make. He speaks in his first paragraph of 'restoring reciprocal charity' between the two churches, and of 'removing some misconceptions'. Then comes a reversion to a point Pugin has touched on before, the notion of 'cause and effect' (v. Contrasts, 1841, Ch. 2, p. 15) :

Protestantism is an effect, not a primary cause; it is a sort of disease, or fungus, that has developed itself on the Catholic body, and as a skilful physician removes a tumour by treating the whole system, rather than by local application, so I conceive that if we turn from Protestantism and its excesses to the consideration of the primary causes from whence it sprung, we shall do much to heal, if not to remove altogether, the sad, the sickening divisions that now afflict this land. To recapitulate horrid acts perpetrated in the name of religion on either side, to strike balances of burnings and bowellings, is only to add fuel to fire, to lead men to become cruel to each other from a very hatred of cruelty, and, in fine, to perpetuate those animosities and party feelings, which are alike unworthy of Christians and injurious to the common weal. Let us, therefore, proceed, in a

spirit of truth and charity, most impartially to examine the cause of these said dissensions. (Earnest Address, pp. 1-2)
(all pagination refers to the 1851, 1st. edition)

There are two remarkable points to make from this passage. The first is that Pugin is making a quite new and uncharacteristic, yet obviously sincere appeal, couched in his most eloquent and persuasive, forceful prose, for church unity; for an indulgence greater even than mere toleration to be granted towards the Anglican church which he formerly abhorred. The second is that the vehicle, the means to this revolutionary end, is to be the study of history; those concerned, Pugin is saying, must revert to source, must go back and study the events and causes surrounding the Reformation, the breach with Rome, the established ascendancy of Anglicanism. They must study, not the murders which accompanied these things, but their true causes and effects. Pugin's declared desire for 'truth and charity' minimises in a definitive way his obligation to Catholic separatist and propagandist aims; this obligation, all-powerful in 1836, still predominant in 1841 (though there were then signs of its force diminishing) has now disappeared. Reverting to the text, Pugin follows the explosive statement quoted above, with a more-or-less explicit statement of his historical stance in relation to his new viewpoints :

To begin with England - which we all know was once a Catholic country, abounding in ecclesiastical foundations, possessing all the means, all the materials, for the preservation of the faith, the instruction of the people, and support of religion in the greatest solemnity and order - how comes it to pass that it is no longer so ? that, without invasion, or conquest, or change of dynasty, the whole has been altered, transformed, the churches plundered, the country separated from Catholic unity, and, in fine, brought to its present lamentable religious position ? Who has done this ? By whom has it been brought about ? Is it the work of Protestantism or not ? I boldly answer, No !

It is a fearful and terrible example of a Catholic nation betrayed by a corrupted Catholic hierarchy. Englishmen have been betrayed, and what is more, betrayed by the very power from whom, under God, they had a right to expect protection and safety. It was in a solemn convocation, when England's churchmen were assembled, a reverend array of bishops and abbots and dignitaries, in orphreyed copes and jewelled mitres.....and yet the fear of a tyrant and the dread of losing a few remaining years of wealth and dignity so far prevailed, that they sacrificed the liberty of the English church at one blow, that church whose liberties at the several consecrations they had sworn to defend, whose freedom they were bound on oath and conscience to preserve. (Earnest Address, pp.2-3)

Soon the issue of disillusionment will have to be confronted; Pugin was, in these later years, a disillusioned man. Did this bring about, directly or indirectly, this change in his historical outlook ? Or did his study of history, his growing conviction of the blameworthiness of the role played by the Catholic church in the Reformation, lead wholly or in part to a disappointment with that church which in turn expressed itself through other means and media ? What was cause, what effect, in Pugin's own life ?

We must note that, extreme as this change in Pugin's viewpoint is, he still does not approach the suggestion that the fault lies in Catholicism, in his religion; only the Catholic church and its faults is laid open to blame.

Having abjured the desire of the clergy (or at least, its higher echelons) of Henry VIII's reign to cling to their temporal power by a short-term compliance with his wishes, Pugin adds that most people have since blamed the early Protestants and their beliefs for the consequent evils. He skates lightly over his own complete volte-face

over this question and goes on to emphasise that the action of these clergy was not a sudden process :

For several centuries the regal power had been gradually spreading its web around the rulers and dignitaries of the church. But now with their own hands they severed the last link of ecclesiastical liberty, in renouncing the communion of the Holy See, and at once consigned the church and the people to the merciless power of the greatest tyrant that ever occupied the English throne since the Norman conquerors. Sic volo, sic iubeo was the only law.....(Earnest Address, p.4)

In a sense, admittedly, Pugin is being as parochial here as he was in the 1836 Contrasts, in that his remarks are strictly of relevance only to the English scene, whatever wider implications they may have. There is, however, this considerable difference: in 1836 his parochialism simply indicated a narrowness in the terms of reference of his work; in 1851 there is a definite and pronounced suggestion that the explicit condemnation of the actions of the English hierarchy of the Catholic church at the Reformation has set them apart from Rome. Thus the conduct of the Pontiff is, implicitly, well outside the scope of Pugin's reproaches. Hence, as I stress above, the integrity of his religion remains unquestioned; in a sense Pugin has become an Ultramontanist, as well as a committed opponent of any Erastian practice in the management by the native hierarchy of the English Catholic church. This form, limited though it is, of Ultramontanism, and a complete anti-Erastianism, dominate Pugin's utterances in the Earnest Address.

There follow ten pages of examination into the events of the reigns of Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth I in the context of religious developments. Then Pugin completes the ideas he has begun to project in the passages quoted above; I quote the relevant portion in full :

.....the vulgar Protestant idea is that before the Reformation there was an entire reign of idolatry and superstition, that the clergy were all ministers of anti-Christ, worshippers of false gods, and in fine, that the first dawning of christian light and truth commenced with the spiritual headship of the eighth Henry; that all the old clergy were turned out, and that Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer were the fathers of the new system, to whom it owed its very existence, and to such an extent has this false idea prevailed that, a few years ago, men filling high positions in the leading university, got up a cross to commemorate those arch-heretics as founders of the English church.* Such is the low and popular Protestant view. Now let us examine the ordinary Catholic idea that prevails among our own body, and which is very little nearer to the truth than the one I have described. All, anterior to the Reformation, is regarded and described as a sort of Utopia:- pleasant meadows, happy peasants, merry England,- according to Cobbett - bread cheap, and beef for nothing, all holy monks, all holy priests,- holy everybody. Such charity, and such hospitality, and such unity, when every man was a Catholic. I once believed in this Utopia myself, but when tested by stern facts and history it all melts away like a dream. The Catholic religion was founded in England, as in any other country, on a political system that was barbarous,- the people were barbarous, the customs were barbarous, the traditions were barbarous, hence from the very beginning the pure Catholic faith was, in temporal matters, mixed up with barbarism, and most assuredly the conquest of the Norman kings was accompanied with every possible barbarity and injustice. Let any reasonable man then reflect on the enormous difficulties that the Catholic religion had to contend with in preserving its position, and maintaining the truth in such a state of society, and which will be evident to all who attentively study the chronicles of English church history in all their bearings and details.

* Pugin refers here to the Martyrs' Memorial at St. Giles's Street, Oxford (Sir George Gilbert Scott, 1841). This copy of a 14th. century Eleanor Cross caused considerable dispute between the High and Low Anglicans, with Pugin also taking a leading part in the controversy.

The barbarism of the people, the tyranny and rapacity of the kings, the constant civil wars and commotions, the contentions between the clergy and the state in the maintenance of the privileges, their great loss of time and money in the continual appeals to Rome, and the spiritual injury to the dioceses from the protracted absence of their bishops on state embassies and temporal affairs, the long vacancies of the sees, and the immense fines and confiscations levied on the church lands from time to time to supply royal extravagance, when we consider all these powerful drawbacks, and the absence of navigable canals for the transport of materials, or even passable roads, it is an overwhelming proof of the mighty power of the Catholic faith, that the face of this country was covered with great and glorious monuments, that yet remain unrivalled, notwithstanding all our increased means, practical facilities, and unbounded commercial prosperity. But wonderful as were these glorious works, they were not, always, the result of unalloyed zeal and devotion; and the manner in which the funds were occasionally raised, will not bear the test of justice and charity. There is an amount of alloy in the ecclesiastical splendour of the middle ages; and very many, if not all, the past abuses we have been in the habit of so loudly denouncing in the Church of England are inherited from the old Catholic times, - the ancient churchmen were notorious non-residents and pluralists, and every synod complained of the numerous foreigners intruded into English benefices, who never even visited the churches to which they were appointed, and from which they derived the revenues, while the fabrics and religion fell alike to decay. We had bishops who never saw their cathedrals, and even a bishop who ruled the diocese of Lincoln for twelve years without having been in holy orders. From these few facts gathered at chance among a mass of documents of the same import, it may be conceived there was great room for reform before the Reformation, which was, in fact, rather a legalization of abuse by state enactments, than a remedy to their continuance.

.....All this inconsistency belongs to that miserable system which binds religion in trammels to the state, and under which nothing can prosper.

I have now, I trust, in some degree dissipated the Protestant

anti-Reformation*darkness and the Catholic Utopia. I have represented things as they really were. I have shown that great abuses existed in the English church long before the schism; that the schism itself and its deplorable results was the work (sic) of the clergy themselves, corrupted by state influence; that the present Church of England is suffering under the very temporal tyranny to which it was originally committed by their act. I have further shown that in many of its own acts, viewed irrespectively of state measures, there is much that is deserving of our respect; and I must say, that after having deeply studied the subject in all its bearings for many years, whatever may be the doubts and difficulties of Parker's consecration, I cannot bring myself to believe that the Church of England, since the accession of Elizabeth, is a mere imposture and a sham. It is an open, an historical question, on which I, as a Catholic, have a perfect right to exercise my judgement, and I feel bound, as an honest and sincere man, writing not for a party or system but the just cause of truth, to express the result of my investigations on this point, of which in my extended work I can bring much corroborative matter but little known.

Even if this could be demonstrated beyond doubt, which I believe scarcely possible, it would not in the least affect the position of English Catholics, who, after the deprivation of the old bishops under Elizabeth, have been under the spiritual jurisdiction of missionaries from the Holy See, and are at length restored by the Providence of God to the blessings of a regular hierarchy. (Earnest Address, pp. 13-15)

A more explicit statement of the present state of Pugin's mind and beliefs would be hard to envisage. Via the study of history, his old idealism has been replaced by a new realism; the provable facts of history are used to support criticism of the Catholic establishment such as, eight or ten years previously, Pugin would have shied away from. Clearly his overall state of mind in these years has helped to

* This must represent a printer's error for 'ante-Reformation'.

augment the force of his changed opinions and Pugin may have felt some need to hit out at a situation which had brought him so much bitterness and disappointment. However we notice again, it is not his faith which has altered, his faith in Catholicism, but his faith in its English ministers. There may have been clinical depression affecting Pugin in his last years, possibly inflicting some form of pessimism upon him, and a sense of failure; this we are bound to take into account when considering such changes of view as that represented by the above. But then, in the realm of cause and effect, who is to say that the disillusionment with English Catholicism might not have been as instrumental in causing depression in a clinical sense, as vice versa ? A balanced power of judgement, unclouded by the strength of his feelings, was not a virtue which Pugin displayed in great plenty; yet, as I have been at some pains in the above pages to show, the views expressed on the history of the Catholic faith in 1851, were not without some precedent, if veiled, in writings of ten years previously and more. We must take the complaints expressed in the Earnest Address at their face value - the breaking down of ideological views held on false or misapprehended premises, brought about by a correction, made through historical studies, of the basis of those premises. By 1851 Pugin was expressing a clear and purposeful profound discontent with the links that bound insular Catholicism with Rome (though at no time disparaging his adopted religion per se) and was at the same time trying noticeably to minimise, even remove, the gap, both historical and liturgical, which separated Rome from the Established Church of England. Finally, he was totally critical of the adulteration of clerical power with temporal.

The Letter from Pugin to Wiseman :

The Earnest Address was predominantly concerned with the state of religion in England alone, but there was in it some comment on the more general, European level :

If the matter were not too lengthy for the space of this pamphlet, I am quite prepared to prove that in every country in Europe the degradation of religion has been caused by its alliance with the temporal power, and the base compliance of the clergy to its measures; nay, the greatest heresies that have afflicted Christendom have been the work of apostate monks and friars, fostered by temporal princes for their own political ends.....All history will prove that, for many centuries, the church had little or no freedom of action. (Earnest Address, p.16)

Through the use of historical study and method Pugin has gradually whittled away at his own medievalist idealism. Originally, having become a Catholic, he placed his historical barrier before which all was Catholic and good, at the time of the Henrician Reformation. At that time his study of history seems to have centred mainly on the events of, and prior to, that reign; by the time of the Earnest Address, however, he has manifestly spent a large amount of time and research on the later reigns of Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth I. This research has clearly provided him with more insights into the true nature and workings of English Protestantism and the Separated Church of England, and his view of this institution has dramatically mellowed. The barrier that Pugin had formerly erected at the time of Henry VIII has now been taken down and in its stead he questions the whole history of the established Catholic church from the middle ages, finding in its history much that was wrong and corrupt, and not being afraid to admit this. He has not questioned the Catholic ideal, but has questioned its operation in all European states, especially England. Small wonder, then, that Cardinal Wiseman, created Archbishop of Westminster and head of the English Catholic church on the recent establishment of a new hierarchy, should have questioned the intentions of

this present pamphlet. Fortunately Pugin's answer to Wiseman's complaints is, as I have said above, published in full in the 1875, 3rd. edition. This answer is dated Ramsgate, February 1851; we know, from his Diary for that year (which, like the other Diaries I have frequently cited, is now kept at the Victoria and Albert Museum Library) that he sent some Manuscripts to his publishers, Dolman, in mid-February. It seems therefore that the Cardinal was shown these before publication, though whether at his request or on Pugin's initiative we cannot know. There is certainly no evidence that anything said by Wiseman caused Pugin to alter his text in any way. In view of the rarity of editions of this publication I make no apology for again quoting at length some of the very relevant statements made by Pugin :

My Dear Lord Cardinal, - I need not say how deeply I am pained that any act of mine should have been the cause of uneasiness to your Eminence, but this I can truly say, that through the whole of that pamphlet I had the single object in view of removing prejudice against the establishment of the hierarchy, by showing that it had been founded on totally opposite principles of* temporal authority, which have occasioned such alarm and opposition throughout the country, and I am quite prepared to show that already the effect on the minds of reasonable men is very great.....nothing is more desirable at the present time than to show that in this

* Seemingly a rather odd usage; substitution of 'to' for 'of' makes Pugin's meaning clearer. His point is that the new Catholic hierarchy does not aim at any form of temporal authority in England. The sting in the tail is that the 'alarm and opposition' he then refers to is that engendered by Wiseman's own triumphant Pastoral, 'from the Flaminian Gate', of October 1850, announcing the new hierarchy - and constituting a gross error of judgement on his part. Whether Pugin is subtly bearding Wiseman on this error is hard to say; but it would have been a sore point with him and he may have seen an innuendo even if none was intended. Anglicans bitterly resented the 'temporal' overtones of this pastoral.

important measure no authority beyond ecclesiastical and spiritual is claimed, which will only affect that portion of the English nation who are now united in Catholic communion. This once understood, all opposition will cease, except from absolute fanatics, who will become odious and ridiculous in the eyes of the nation. Surely it is a most important matter to show Englishmen that the separation from Catholic unity was not mainly caused by doctrinal differences, was not a popular movement, but, in fact, resisted by the nation, as I have shown. These facts give the direct lie to all the popular oratory of the late excitement. There can be no doubt that English people were betrayed by the old clergy, who had become state tools; and the Church of England, since the accession of Elizabeth, has been only a Protestant edition, as regards temporals, of the abuses long antecedent to the sixteenth century, and which caused the same murmurs among the people in the old Catholic times, as their perpetration does at this very day against the Established Church. It is most important to show the nation that these abuses no longer exist, and that the constitution of the present hierarchy is perfectly free, even from the causes which produced them. Surely it is no offence to set forth these truths before the country? No one could be more explicit than I have been in laying down the strictly Catholic principle of supreme power and authority in the Holy See,..... I appeal to your Eminence if it is possible to set forth the Catholic doctrine on this point in a clearer manner. Is it not true that the hierarchy remained in England after its separation from the Holy See? They were the same bishops, who had been duly consecrated and instituted before the separation, but how soon everything decayed after the branch was severed from the parent trunk. The whole pamphlet is full of similar expressions, and I am quite at a loss to imagine how any reasonable reader could for one moment attribute an unorthodox meaning to my words. Will anyone dare to affirm that I would defend a man convinced of Catholic truth, remaining separate for a single hour, from unity and from obedience to those pastors holding jurisdiction and authority from the Holy See? Surely not!! But I do maintain that the greatest charity and encouragement should be exhibited by us, towards those who by realising the

ordinances and practice of their own communion, are advancing rapidly towards the old faith, and whose present separate position may certainly be traced to the unworthy conduct of the old ecclesiastical authorities.....if the English nation were prepared to receive its real doctrines and act up to its discipline, their reconciliation to Catholic unity would be a work of comparative ease. (Letter from Pugin to Cardinal Wiseman, February 1851, as quoted in Earnest Address, 3rd. edition, 1875, pp. 45-46)

Most of this statement one can accept; but Pugin prevaricates when he speaks of 'how soon everything decayed after the branch was severed from the parent trunk'. I have cited many instances, in this pamphlet (the Earnest Address) and elsewhere, where Pugin admits to the rottenness of the Catholic Establishment long before the Reformation. Even if this were not so, he is answering in his words as quoted above an irrelevant accusation (and we can only assume he does this knowingly): it has been shown earlier in this chapter that Pugin never attacks the Catholic principle; what he attacks forcefully is the management of that principle by the ministers of the church. While he defends, vehemently, his innocence on the former of these points ('Will anyone dare to affirm.....'), he does not touch on the latter. So the whole of his forceful denial is beside the real point which is, that he has in this pamphlet we are considering cruelly slanted the Catholic establishment. Ostensibly his criticisms have been 'historical'- aimed only at the period of the Renaissance and Reformation; but some of the mud, as Wiseman well knew, would have been liable to stick to the present incumbents. Pugin, also, knew this.

Pugin continues, in his letter, by citing as precedent the theological arguments of Bishop Milner with Hoadley, which he says Milner conducted entirely from Anglican theology, so as to defeat the Anglican Hoadley

on his own ground. Milner wrote of members of the English Church, 'I wish to prevent them from frittering away their religion, and launching into latitudinarianism. If they will not be good Catholics I am desirous that they should remain good Church of England men, being convinced that thereby the sacred code of Revelation will be much less violated, and the public peace and happiness much more effectually secured.' (Quoted from the Earnest Address, p.47)

Objectively, Pugin's representations to Wiseman are sound, with the exception as noted above. His argument that his conclusions are based on historical study and special knowledge does accord him some of the privilege he seeks to claim from it. Subjectively, however, this historical technique implies certain criticisms on the present Catholic regime, despite his avowals to the contrary; for the period of the Reformation is, unostentatiously but definitely, brought forward as an active parallel to contemporary problems and evils within the church. Pugin's tendency to a form of ultramontaniam (which is linked to the notion of Pugin as a European, which I have mentioned in connection with his many continental visits) and to the minimisation of the importance of intermediary links between local and papal levels is linked with his historicism; the medium of historical study, and the development over the years of a cogent theory of history as applied to Catholicism, made Pugin articulate on this topic. His history gave him access to a means for the expression of his disillusionment with the Catholic church in England by the time of the late forties.

One cannot leave the subject of the letter to Wiseman without considering its closing passage; for there will be those who say,

that Pugin's avowals of subservience to the new hierarchy are too strong to be questionable. Pugin indicates at the end of the letter the extent of his willingness to comply with the terms of any censure issued against himself; he writes:

I need hardly say that if, on deliberate examination, any heretical propositions can be extracted, or any proposition tending to heresy, I will instantly retract it in the fullest sense. But to bring a general and vague charge of Heresy against a publication, the object of which has been to advance the Catholic cause in England, and written by one whose whole life, energies, and temporal means are exclusively devoted to the revival of the Catholic faith, is, to say the least, a most uncharitable and unwarrantable act, and which I should certainly resist. If I have inadvertently put forth anything contrary to sound theology, as I said before, I will retract it instantly. But as regards the great principles, viz.:-

First. That the loss of faith in England was through internal corruption and decay, produced by temporal tyranny.

Secondly. That the civil Barbarism of the Middle Ages exercised a most fatal influence on religion by investing its prelates with temporal and even military powers.

Thirdly. That the great ecclesiastical possessions were the constant source of sacrilegious spoliation by temporal rulers, and spiritually injurious to the very Sees to which they were attached, and were constantly diverted from their real intention.

Fourthly. That when the barbarism of the Middle Ages verged into a more civilized state of society, the great element of revived Paganism entered in, and exercised a most deteriorating effect, not only on art, but on men and religion in general.

Fifthly. That the political changes of Christendom all tend to free the Church from temporal restraint, and to throw the support of religion on the body of the faithful, who are bound to respond to these new and altered circumstances by contributing to the utmost of their power in the revival of all connected with religion.

These are all questions connected with the history of the past, on which surely a faithful son of the Church may be permitted, not only to hold, but to express his opinions, and I certainly

cannot remain silent at these important times, when much good might be effected, but it will be my care to avoid any expression that could be liable to be misconstrued, and I am excessively grieved that any pain should have been felt by your Eminence, at what was put forth with the best possible intentions, and which has been viewed, even by learned ecclesiastics, in a very opposite light to that suggested to your Eminence, by those whose opinions I still entertain a hope may be modified, if not changed, by a more careful perusal.

Again expressing my sorrow that so earnest an effort should have been so sadly misconstrued by your correspondents,

I remain, My dear Lord Cardinal, etc..

(Earnest Address, 3rd. edition, pp. 47-8)

This is the declaration of a man not at all cowed, far less convinced, by criticism of his work; it is the apology of a man who is not at all apologetic. Written with the greatest and most formal politeness and, for a man of Pugin's customary bluntness, with considerable circumspection, the statement here contained amounts to this : that what he has come at through the means of indisputable historical research he claims a right to uphold, on the grounds that it represents truth; that his Catholicism does not in any way control statements he may choose to make based upon such grounds; that in effect he reserves the right to challenge any accusation of heresy, presumably until referred directly to Papal authority (which is implied in his reference to 'sound theology') and determined against him. The respect he felt for Wiseman, as here expressed, we may take to be genuine despite their early differences, for Pugin could only respect his great talents, his contribution to Catholicism and, not least, his rank as Cardinal. But Pugin never made clearer, in an official, or semi-official statement, his determination to stand fast against the dictates of the established hierarchy in England if he felt this to be necessary. The historical view he puts forward in his five points

provides a good summary of the changes in his historical standpoint since the early years.

Conclusion:

As a historiographer Pugin was less than excellent if analysed in terms of the qualities of exactitude, impartiality, objectivity and consistency of interpretation theoretically valued by the professional historian. His theory of history was developed initially within a narrow period of study, but this field expanded progressively as the years passed. Clearly this knowledge, in depth, of new fields of history will have contributed to the change and development of his opinions. Whether, within the comparatively narrow (even in 1850) area in which Pugin exercised his historical interest - which we could summarise as the late-medieval, Reformation and Elizabethan period - his Catholic standpoint resulted in an unacceptably large tendency to pre-judgement and an above-average departure from validity and plausibility in terms of exegesis, I am not able to judge, nor capable of judging. I would simply refer to the vast areas of cultural and ideological supposition made by any committed historian (and there are few truly uncommitted ones), and the extent to which 'suppression of evidence' and 'selection of evidence' become changed concepts, according as we agree with the basic suppositions made by an historian. Pugin was, as he never lets us forget, a Catholic Historian. Two things are certain: first, his history makes interesting and enlightening reading for anyone interested in understanding the motivations of Victorian medievalism and even for anyone interested also in understanding the processes and effects of the English Reformation and the rise of Protestantism here and on the continent of Europe;

second, that Pugin's interpretation of history as available to us provides an accurate barometer of his stance and suffering in the political issues which bedevilled the erstwhile enthusiastic progress of the Catholic revival, after about 1840; this is true, in spite of the fact that he always showed the greatest personal integrity in his pursuit of historical truth, and his historical conclusions changed only as his conviction as to their truth changed. Viewed as an historiographer, an historian with an axe to grind, Pugin's position in 1851 is a logical development and departure from the views he held in 1836 and the development is a highly informative one. Equally important is the recognition that the 1851 position is by no means the final development; a later chapter will deal with an unpublished manuscript written by Pugin which, in some features, goes beyond the views expressed in the Earnest Address. And other sources also need to be tapped before the final years of this man's life can be understood with any clarity, and the role of historical study within the total framework fully comprehended.

Pugin's study of history must be considered in the light of the crisis points of his life: his conversion, and the beginnings of fame, from 1834 to 1836; solid establishment and reputation from 1841; the beginnings of disillusionment, becoming particularly apparent by 1849.

His early historical research seems to have been quite neutral in tone, and balanced; but after conversion, with the writing of the first Contrasts in 1836, this has changed. That book is the most blatantly pro-Catholic, propagandist, of all his interpretations of history. Even so, his real talent and power of original research as a historian is apparent. The 1841 Contrasts demonstrates a more complex, mature view befitting a man of established influence. The beginnings of Pugin's final view,

that the Catholic church was to blame for the events of the Reformation, can just be traced; but still his devotion to the English Catholic cause, and aversion from the Church of England, is complete. His claim that the first Contrasts had been exclusively about Britain, where the second considered the wider, European issues is used as something of a blind to mask his real change of stance since 1836. In the 1841 edition Pugin first began to pose himself the problem of a conflict between historical and religious views, which he never finally reconciled.

From then until 1849 history took a back-seat; the Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture (1843) touches some of the issues, but does nothing to advance them. These middle years found Pugin so busy on working for the cause of Catholicism and the medieval revival that he really had little time for issues other than the strictly practical and the management of his many personal problems.

The revival of historical interest from 1849 began with a phase of what I have called 'emotive history'; essentially unattractive and unsuccessful, as represented by the Plain Song pamphlet of 1850 and the Weekly Register article of 1849. This type of work will be dealt with more fully when Pugin's literary qualities are considered in a later chapter.

The Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy presents us with a major reassessment of Pugin's ideas, brought about and expressed largely through the medium of historical study and writing. New ideas include: toleration of the Anglican viewpoint and some move towards a rapprochement; criticism, in unequivocal terms, of the part played by

the Catholic establishment in late medieval and Reformation times in England (though without any imputed slur, either on the Papacy or on the Catholic faith); revision of Pugin's idealised view of the Middle Ages which formed the basis of his medievalism; an interest in the later historical periods of Protestant rulers such as Elizabeth I; and as a final measure of the change of viewpoint, a considerable implication that the defaults of the old Catholic establishment and management were beginning to show in the church of Pugin's own day. This resulted in accusations of heresy; these Pugin rebutted and, in a letter to Cardinal Wiseman, left no doubt that he considered himself correct in his views and, because they were based on historical truth, justified in uttering them. He showed no intention of moderating his pronouncements to mollify his critics unless 'sound theology' convinced him of his error.

As the following chapter will show, major changes in Pugin's relationship with the Catholic establishment began as early as 1846, though they developed only slowly, climaxing at the end of the decade. So the changed historical viewpoint, though traceable in embryo back to 1841, can be said to parallel these changes. Since the historical evidence on which Pugin based his case had, for the most part, been available to him for many years, we must assume that his reappraisal of this historical evidence was prompted by changes in other fields of interest. The exception to this is the work on the later sixteenth century, which does seem for the most part to be an innovation of the late forties and accounts largely for Pugin's softening of attitude towards the Anglican church. So there is no hard-and-fast decision on this question; all we can say is that Pugin's long-standing interest in historical study helped him to make some important decisions at

this most trying and crucial phase of his life. For this reason alone it is worthwhile to consider seriously Pugin the historian. Add to this the intrinsic interest to be gained from studying his perceptive comments on the history of the Reformation, his wide-ranging researches of the primary sources of that period gained from a life-time of work, and the case for examining this side of his character and interests is solid.

The Role of the Periodical in the Expression of Puginism. A survey of the attitudes taken by some current periodicals to the movement and ideas being propagated by Pugin.

Having made a reputation from the private publication of Contrasts in 1836, and the furore consequent upon this, Pugin became, for that section of the press which concerned itself with ecclesiastical and architectural matters, a desirable contributor. Apart from the nationwide controversy surrounding Contrasts, and the spate of reviews and invective articles which followed from this and also the outcome of the Houses of Parliament design competition, the first appearance - the first independent appearance, one might say - of Pugin in the periodical press was at the instigation of the Catholic Magazine. This monthly publication printed as editorial to its issue for January 1838 * an article entitled 'Ecclesiastical Architecture'. This article speaks of the notice already accorded, at the appropriate time, to Pugin's Contrasts (1836), A Reply to Observations which Appeared in 'Fraser's Magazine' for March 1837 on a Work Entitled 'Contrasts' (London, for the Author, 1837) and An Apology for a Work Entitled 'Contrasts' (Birmingham, printed for the Author by R.P. Stone, 1837), and mentions the 'admirable success' that these had achieved. It expresses delight at the church designs Pugin was at that point producing - at Reading, Derby, Uttoxeter and the proposal for Birmingham - and praises 'their chasteness, their simplicity, but above all their Catholicity' (p.709). Also the article states that Pugin is currently engaged on 'tracing the evil of our present degraded architecture to its source, viz. the ignorance of

* More properly, the Edinburgh Catholic Magazine; v. New Series, vol.2, pp.709-9. (709-716 comprise the first eight pages of this volume and p.9 follows on from p.716.)

ecclesiastics in such matters'(p.710). Pugin,it reveals,has begun a series of lectures at Oscott College where he is now Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities,and has further agreed to let the Catholic Magazine have texts of these lectures for publication in the near future. Three lectures,intended to convey the theory of Pugin's work as it then stood,were published in 1838 and 1839 in the magazine,as has been referred to in detail earlier in the thesis.(v.p.112,fn.)

As Pugin became a respected architectural and religious theoretician, with strong historical interests,he used the periodical press as a regular means of expressing his views to a wide public; until his death both he and his ideals were to figure largely,in contributions and as targets,in all current periodicals dealing with the religious events and the architecture,particularly the ecclesiastical architecture,of the time. It is proposed to deal in this chapter with the most important and influential of these periodicals - principally the Ecclesiologist, the Dublin Review,the Rambler,the Builder and one or two lesser ones noteworthy only for single articles of particular relevance. The picture which is built up when these periodicals are closely studied will be seen to mirror,to a surprising extent,the movements pro- and anti-Puginism which have already been suggested,from different angles of approach,in earlier chapters of this thesis.

In examination of these periodicals the chief problem is to assess the validity and importance of their critical evaluations; in the agitated religious conditions of the eighteen-forties there were ample opportunities for local spites or party ambitions and fears to influence the productions of the periodical press on a short term basis; it is necessary to be able to see past such local disturbances and

trace important currents of feeling and meaning. This, I believe, is where sufficient care has not always been taken in the past by critics with the result that minor and local differences may have been mistaken for significant ones and judgements and conclusions therefore have become blurred and misleading. This is particularly so in the case of the Ecclesiologist, and it is with a chronological survey of the productions of this periodical, as relating to Pugin and his views, that I propose to begin.

The Ecclesiologist:

The origins of the Ecclesiologist magazine, as the organ of the Cambridge Camden Society, are well known; its chief purpose in its early days was to circularise the members of the Society, particularly those who had graduated, left Cambridge and gone, possibly, to livings in all parts of the country. Many of these people kept their interest in the ecclesiological reforms that the Society was trying to initiate and wished to be kept informed of their progress, perhaps also to make their own contributions to the columns. Begun in 1841, the periodical first appeared as a publication completely severed from its parent society in January 1845. With this move came, as might be expected, slightly different policies and attitudes, and these will be commented upon in due course. In its early years, while linked with Cambridge University, the magazine was above all concerned with innovating a high technical standard of performance, judged by standards formulated by itself, in church design, building and renovation. Pedantry featured in some of the decisions of the Cambridge Camden Society, and the Ecclesiologist itself was a parade-ground for some obnoxious, but really quite harmless, arrogances. Generally, as will be shown, the publication's aims until 1845 were perfectly congruous with those of

Pugin, and the fact that they sat on opposite sides of the religious fence was not, in terms of the church-building revival, mightily important.

To turn now to the specific, an article appeared in August 1844 which demonstrates the above point; in a review of Pugin's Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume the following constitutes the opening passage:

That ornament is not the antagonist but the servant of reality, not the destruction but the embellishment of use, is a grand principle which Mr. Pugin has amply demonstrated in his former works, and now illustrated by a splendid example in the book before us. (Ecclesiologist, Vol. 3, August '44, p. 141)

The review goes on to support completely and praise the book under discussion, its purpose and its contents, with the small exception of asking for more detail on the practice of embroidery. Particularly eulogised are the use of polychromy in the internal decoration of churches and the information on vestments. There is no hint of irony or conditional praise in the approval shown to Pugin's work. The same issue includes favourable comment on Pugin's restoration work at Pepper Harrow, in the Chancel of St. Nicholas, which is described as 'very gratifying' and itemised in detail (v.p. 154, Vol. 3). In the September 1844 issue (vol. 3, p. 184) is an account of the new, medievalised official seal of the Cambridge Camden Society, designed by Pugin; the account speaks of the design coming from 'the able hand of that great master of Christian device, Mr. A. W. Pugin', and praises it warmly. It is truly remarkable that the Society should choose to have its seal, the outward mark of its communications, designed by a man whose talent clearly outweighed, in their eyes, his Catholicism.*

* A letter, Pugin to Lord Shrewsbury, dated Whit Monday 1844 (Box IV 86 DD, Victoria and Albert Museum Library) describes the process of making a seal, and presumably refers to that for the Camden Society.

What, though, of the Ecclesiologist's first years ? The earliest mention of Pugin's work occurs nine months after the first issue, which appeared in November 1841. The editorial of the issue for July 1842, entitled 'The Practical Study of Ancient Models', comments on the work at St.Chad's, Birmingham :

The success which has been obtained of late in several departments of church decoration, and, as a remarkable illustration, in the art of engraving on brass, revived by Mr. Pugin at Birmingham, prove satisfactorily that there need be no want of skill amongst our workmen to imitate the decorative works of our ancestors.
(Vol.1, July 1842, p.150)

This is only a small mention and, though cordial enough, touches on a relatively unimportant feature of the work going on at St.Chad's. No reviews appear of Pugin's publications of 1841 and 1843, though they were highly relevant to the work the Ecclesiologist and its founders, Neale, Webb, Beresford-Hope and others, were trying to do. Pugin, on his side, showed considerable respect for the Camdenians *; in the Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture (1969 reprint, Blackwell, pp.83-85) he quotes at length from the first number, Vol.1, November 1841, pp.9-11, a highly derogatory critique of a new church at Cambridge. He refers (op.cit.p.83) to the Ecclesiologist as 'a monthly publication that has long been a desideratum'. The Camden Society appears, however, to have been extremely diffident about acknowledging any links with Pugin until 1843; perhaps the publication of a regular periodical seemed a very different thing from the private university society meetings, and certainly there would have been considerable unsureness about the religious climate which would prevail. Could the Camdenians afford to come out in open support of an architect who, however talented, was a

* Pugin's Diary for 1842, May 3rd, proves actual contact with the Society; it reads, 'Went to Ely with Camden Men'.

Catholic ? Their initial policy was clearly one of caution. So although there was, it would seem, some warmth between Pugin and the Camden leaders on a personal level, little of this was permitted to escape into print in these early days. By 1844, the review of Pugin's Glossary as quoted above, it is apparent that this caution was lessening and a growing confidence among the leading Camdenians allowed them to acknowledge Pugin as an ally.

Shortly after this the Ecclesiologist underwent a crucial change of status; in January 1845 it made its first appearance as a publication quite independent of the parent society; the statement issued (v. Vol. 4, Jan. 1845, Editorial) claimed that the committee management of the periodical under the Cambridge Camden Society had proved unsatisfactory; therefore, retaining its editorial staff and original format, the Ecclesiologist would continue to appear on an autonomous basis. This move was a rational one in the growth and progress of the church-reform movement, for the founders of the Camden Society had now left Cambridge and undergraduate life far behind them; the obverse of the coin was that new powers of personal choice were allotted to the editors, and in the development which followed it is well to bear this in mind.

In January 1846 an article appeared entitled 'The Artistic Merit of Mr. Pugin' (Vol. 5, pp. 10-16); ostensibly this is a review of three pieces of work by Pugin: The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England (published in book form, 1843); two prints of St. Chad's by Pugin; an engraving of St. Edmund by Pugin, forming the Frontispiece to No. 14 of the Lives of the English Saints (London, James Toovey, 1845). If the choice of subject matter is strange - a three year old book and two very minor pieces - the tone of the ensuing article is more so; it is a confused, and confusing, piece of prose. First comes an assertion

that the 'proud position' of Mr.Pugin came a 'few years' ago,'when the revival of Christian art was still more novel than it is at present', and its exponents then had 'the indiscriminate confiding admiration of children' (p.10),in the excellence of all medieval productions. The writer of the present article is,if taken at face value,anxious not to detract from Pugin's reputation in those days:

They saw an artist full of talent,full of energy,devoting that talent,and those energies,to the cause of the true,the beautiful,the pure,the religious in art;by pen,by pencil,and by enduring structures:- they saw a genius quick,versatile,aspiring,now planning the lofty cathedral,with its heaven pointing spires,now embroidering the vestment and binding the book.(p.10)

But he ends his eulogy:

Such was the bright ideal that a few months ago our young Ecclesiologists had pictured to themselves of Mr.Pugin and his future career.(p.10)

The 'few years' has now shrunk,it seems,to a 'few months'; should we also note that in January 1846 it was only a 'few months' since Newman, the most famous of the apostates,had left the Anglican for the Catholic church ? Or that it was a 'few months',likewise,since the Ecclesiologist went autonomous,became mature ? Both of these were reasons why there may have been felt a need for more definitively Anglican stand-points to be taken. Since one recent critic has claimed * that this article produced a deep impact on Pugin's life we should follow up such questions more closely,working from the evidence of the content of the article itself. Was this a shattering indictment,or merely a splenetic, opportunist and spiteful outburst ? Did it worry Pugin ?

A more precise charge follows :

* Professor Stanton,Pugin (1971),v.pp.185-187.

The rocks upon which artistically he has split are quickness and versatility.(p.11)

Two complaints back up this statement; the first, though not clearly defined, seems to be, in substance, that Pugin has failed to profit from experience. There is the suggestion that he has not advanced, artistically, at all; closely followed by another that the improvement which he did, it is now admitted, achieve, 'prematurely reached its term'.(p.11) The second complaint, partially valid but not particularly weighty, is that Pugin's illustrations glorify his buildings to an unacceptable degree.

Clearly we must ask, 'Are these complaints justified?'; but in this case it is as important that we also try to ascertain whether the complaints were made in a fair and unprejudiced spirit, and whether they were well supported. I contend that the answer to both of these questions is negative. Though they were based on true doubts as to the effectiveness of Pugin's performance, there is a failure to formulate fully the grounds of those doubts. This manifests itself in a flawed series of arguments and in changes of stance, such as the two slight ones I have indicated. It can also be seen in the sowing of suspicions which are permitted to grow in the reader's mind, but are never substantiated. What is the purpose of the attack? If it is true that the Gothic Revival has left Pugin behind (one assumes an implication that such artists as Butterfield have superseded him, though basis for this is not supplied), then why trouble to defame him? This mild sensationalism, anti-Catholic in orientation, might have been a good thing for the reputation, and circulation, of the Ecclesiologist at this time.

The article then moves on to consider Pugin's book, The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture. Criticism of it extends to these points:

it first appeared in a Catholic organ (the Dublin Review); it limits consideration of ecclesiastical architecture to the Catholic; all but one of the buildings illustrated are Pugin's own *; those buildings are represented in the text as complete, when they are not so in reality, and may never become so (Downside is correctly cited as a prime example). The Ecclesiologist argues that this has the dual effect of advancing Pugin's reputation on slim grounds, and misleading the public as to the extent of Catholic influence and progress. There is some justice in these charges, but in view of the openly propagandist nature of the Present State, they are overstressed; most of the churches described in the book were, or had since been, completed in recognisably similar form to their illustrations. Moreover, since it is the stated intention of this article to portray the present decline in Pugin's art, though admitting his excellence in earlier years, it is doubtful logic to begin the attack by referring to a work, half of which first appeared in print in May 1841, the second half in February 1842.

Two of Pugin's long-completed churches then attract the notice of the writer: St. Chad's at Birmingham and St. Barnabas' at Nottingham. The former is criticised primarily for its Germanic origins; this, in view of the oft-stated preferences of ecclesiologists, is not surprising. Less comprehensible is the suggestion that that church has a nave of such shape as to facilitate the provision of a gallery, using the twin bases of the towers to house the staircases. Irony, the most powerful stylistic weapon of the ecclesiologist writers, is being brought strongly to bear on Pugin himself, whose own favourite weapon it was also.

* The exception is M.E. Hadfield's St. Bede's, Masbro; this is so firmly based on Pugin's own precepts as to amount to a straightforward copy. (v. Present State, Plate 14, facing p. 108).

St.Barnabas'wins praise for its English provenance,only to be then condemned for being 'severest First-pointed,with long lancet windows of almost extravagant narrowness' (p.12):

....it is not unfair to surmise,that the selection was influenced by the wish to produce as striking a building as could be for some given amount,not adequate to the calls of Middle-Pointed.
(p.13)

St.Barnabas'was begun in 1841; in the Ecclesiologist of July 1842 (v.Vol.1,p.152) we find some instructions for church-building which suggest that any native Gothic or Romanesque style will be quite suitable; so the 'Middle-Pointed' was,at the time of the first months' work on this church,as far from being the dream-child of the Camdenians as it was from Pugin's ideal. The paragraphs in this article which deal with comparison of the two churches are confused,making it difficult to know,at times,which church is being referred to. A final irony in the attack comes with the complaint that the windows of St.Barnabas'are filled with poor glass. The claim is that it would have been preferable to spend available cash on good glass for the main lights,and 'to have left the rest for other days'(p.14) ! Which is an exact parallel of Pugin's own stated preference for designing on an open-ended time-scale,allowing for present usefulness and a more ambitious completion at a later date; we remember that it was for this procedure - the production of drawings depicting a completion which,as noone knew better than Pugin,was far from being attained - that the Ecclesiologist chose to criticise the Present State. By now the tone of this article has become harsh; Pugin's brand of medievalism is,it is averred,preferable only to Nash's,and insofar as it gives one 'some idea of what an ancient church was'(p.15). His churches,though,are 'old churches made easy'(p.15)and are no true revival but 'a delusive and treacherous by-way'(p.15).

From this stage the article begins to consider Pugin's work less, and to direct its attention more overtly to an attack on the man himself. It is claimed that he enjoys 'considerable vogue as an illustrator' (p.15) and has lost his early power in this type of work through prolific efforts to fulfil the demands made upon him:

Mr.Pugin's illustrations gradually assumed the appearance of task work. The freedom and the gracefulness and the originality which they once manifested, diminished; they became trite and commonplace, and mechanical, and stiff in their attitudes, while the faces seemed monotonous and inexpressive..... persons might confound the capacities of true art with Mr. Pugin's mannerisms.(p.15)

We see here the same quasi-generous procedure as was adopted earlier in this article; while granting that Pugin has, in the past, achieved real distinction, it is claimed that this distinction has now disappeared. Presented as it is, with little supporting evidence, the claim that distinction has become mannerism is unconvincing; especially when, still on this tack of art versus mannerism, we read:

This pressing danger now makes us thus come forward, else we should much rather have been silent.(p.15)

We see the Ecclesiologist reluctantly stepping forward, when all else has failed, to expose Pugin; the atmosphere of expensively bought impartiality that is sought in the article provides some safeguard against the possible retort from Pugin, that this shift of opinion on the part of the editors of the periodical has been very sudden. But when one considers the slenderness, and unsupported nature, of the accusations that are actually levelled, it is difficult to maintain that this pose is an effective one. The reader does not object that there is an attempt to bring charges against a quite blameless and innocent man; only that these charges that this article chooses to bring are the wrong ones, covering minor areas of Pugin's work, or

work completed some years previously and which Pugin himself might no longer fully endorse. Especially when, for a variety of reasons, it seems to be in the best interests of the Ecclesiologist, at this particular time, to be seen publicly condemning the Catholic Mr. Pugin.

In its final paragraph, this article asks, 'Do we mean all that we have said unkindly? Far from it' (p.16). Pugin is exhorted to 'disregard present employment and ephemeral reputation', and to reform himself to the opinions of the Ecclesiologist.

The article, taken as a whole, would be more credible if it tried to establish a valid evaluative standard; what, aesthetically or in religious terms, is the mean between 'true revival' and 'treacherous by-way'? The Ecclesiologist seems to regard it as a path adequately defined by itself in the past, in terms of a total devotion to Middle-Pointed. There seems to be present in the article an overlay of spleen, directed at Pugin and Catholicism for whatever ephemeral motive. So we must also understand that the mean is found by an Anglo-Catholic, rather than by a Roman Catholic. My purpose so far has been, first, to examine the accusations made against Pugin; second, to examine the manner of their making; in the light of conclusions drawn from the answers to these questions, I have tried to judge how basic the charges really are. I have suggested that from its inception the Ecclesiologist, as the organ of the Cambridge Camdenians, conferred some measure of approval on Pugin by its very quiescence (an unusual quality in so outspoken a body of men); by the middle of 1842 there was a positive, mutual approval; by the middle of 1844 Pugin was openly and warmly praised in the columns of the periodical. Then, in early 1845, the Ecclesiologist became independent of its parent society, thus coming of age and

laying aside the last faint traces of an undergraduate image. As a corollary it also became far more exposed to the fluctuations and vagaries of national opinion. Into this situation came the disturbance created by the apostasy of Newman which, if not apocalyptic in its impact, at least made the average Anglo-Catholic fully aware of the real dangers and sensitivity of his position. Murmurs were also afoot that, under the auspices of the dynamic and appealing Bishop Wiseman, the Catholics were again thinking, perhaps more seriously, of the re-establishment of a full Catholic hierarchy in England as the logical outcome of the less than satisfying emancipation of 1829. It becomes clear, therefore, that whatever might have been the personal attitude of the editorial board of the Ecclesiologist towards Pugin (and there is no evidence of any rifts which might have damaged the growing friendliness), there is other justification in plenty, in terms of expedience and religious politics, for the attack on Pugin. If we view Pugin's relationship with the Ecclesiologist, then, from 1841 to 1846, we have a curious result: a smooth curve of gradually developing mutual trust and respect is suddenly broken by a hiatus - the article I have been considering. On close examination it transpires that this is not a powerful or well-judged article; we must conclude that the motivations behind its publication are far more external ones, than they are related to any great faults in the artistic development of Pugin as the leading practitioner of medievalism in architecture and allied fields at this date.*

* The lengthy consideration given to this article stems from a conviction that its unusual qualities render its inclusion in any account of the usage of periodical publications in the Gothic revival at this date quite obligatory. One cannot understand the relationship between Pugin and the Ecclesiologist, and its wider significances, without taking

* (contd.) detailed account of the true value of this one article. A secondary reason for my detailed study is that I believe Professor Stanton to have seriously misjudged the import of this attack; she writes:

The attack on Pugin in the Ecclesiologist in the year 1846 was an astute and calculated act of cruelty. It raised all the doubts applicable to any serious and devout Gothic revival designer, implying, however, that they were relevant to Pugin alone.

(Pugin, Thames and Hudson, 1971, p.185)

The latter statement is true; but it is not complete, for it does not add that in the part of the attack that is aimed personally at Pugin, there is clearly detectable to all but the uninformed contemporary reader (and he is highly unlikely to take such a specialised journal) a basis of underhandedness and malice. Put the two ideas together - that the attack was both generally applicable to all medievalised designers and founded on personal animosity against Pugin and his religion - and any suggestion that this was an 'astute' attack seems to me to be completely undercut. Similarly one must mistrust Professor Stanton's assessment of the impact of this article upon Pugin; is it likely that a man, hardened by a dozen years as member of a generally unpopular religious minority, by the contumely of such critics as those of the first edition of Contrasts (which were heaped upon him while he was still tender and untried) , would expend more than a shrug on such a lame attack as this ? Far less that he would reel under it as Professor Stanton suggests ? (v.Pugin, p.186, 187). When she writes:

The unrealistic standards by which he had been judged were his own as well, and he had begun to lose his nerve. (op.cit., p.186)

she makes the important point that this was the beginning of a crisis period for Pugin; but is wrong to regard the Ecclesiologist as in any sense the catalyst for that crisis. Rather it was that Pugin and the Ecclesiologist were tied together in the same crisis, marking the beginning of the end of Puginism as a living force in the history of design (though not, of course, of Pugin's own influence on that history). This article is not a vicious attack by the tyrant mouthpiece of informed public opinion on the sinning, but more sinned against, artist. It is far more than a bite at the hand that feeds; for if Puginism were to fall, the Ecclesiologist would be one of the first to go along with it. This, I believe, they well realised; their reaction was the wrong, panic one, of disclaiming Pugin, and they were not strong enough themselves, the proprietors of the periodical, to carry through this drastic step.

Relations with the Ecclesiologist after 1846:

After the outburst described above there was necessarily a period in which Pugin received no mention in the columns of the periodical; however, over a very few years the relationship seems to have crept back onto a footing very similar to what it had originally attained. Some ecclesiologists had deplored the attack of 1846 at the time it was made *; others were doubtless more indifferent; but the editorial board seems to have kept up some antipathy for two years. Then, in the issue for July 1848, the Ecclesiologist again begins to make mention of Pugin **: a correspondent notices Pugin's new church at St. Peter Port in Guernsey. He is mildly critical in that he states that Pugin has used blue granite for the walls but softer Caen stone for the quoins, facings and mouldings which should have been of harder material. Economy, though, is freely acknowledged as the origin of this fault. In the issue for December 1848 is a disapproving, though not harsh, notice of Pugin's work at Jesus College, Cambridge. The same issue contains a notice, at length, of Pugin's church of St. George's, Southwark, and M.E. Hadfield's St. John's, Salford ***. These two churches are spoken of as being the largest pointed churches built in England since the Renaissance; it is added that four Catholic churches recently built in England are big enough to pass as cathedrals, namely: St.

* Professor Stanton notes (op.cit.p.186) that S.N.Stokes and F.A. Paley, two ardent ecclesiologists, protested and resigned all connection with the society over this attack.

** v.Ecclesiologist, vol.8, July 1848, p.399.

*** v.Ecclesiologist, vol.9, December 1848; for the comment on Jesus College, v.pp.146-7; for that on St. George's, an article entitled 'New Roman Catholic Churches', pp.151-164. Note that, in error, this church is referred to as St. George's, Lambeth.

Barnabas', Nottingham; St. Chad's, Birmingham; St. George's, Southwark; St. John's, Salford. The Ecclesiologist adds, '...of which the members of that communion are naturally and laudably proud'. Three of the four, it will be noticed, are Pugin churches; the fourth is by a man who, in the early part of his career, modelled himself on Pugin's style to the point of plagiarism, and was the one man to have a design included by Pugin in his The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture.

The tone of the review of St. George's, noted in the preceding paragraph, is generally favourable to Pugin; though many 'faults' in the design, as seen through ecclesiological eyes, are pointed out, there is no desire to be 'severe':

If so huge a work were (prudentially viewed) a rash adventure to have been undertaken for the funds which could possibly be raised, it at once falls within the limits of architectural criticism; but we do not, we repeat it, desire to be severe, only we must, in self-defence, note these matters in case the mere size of St. George's should be brought up against our communion. (Ecclesiologist, vol. 9, Dec. 1848, pp. 152-3)

There follows a very detailed description of the church; it seems to be based on the understanding that a church is being dealt with which was designed some few years previously and which has gone through severe vicissitudes in the building process; therefore the reviewer is inclined to view the building's merits warmly, and minimise many of its defects. Certainly there is no animosity towards Pugin, no slightest echo of the feeling of the 1846 article. There are occasions, though, when a dry jibe is irresistible, as over the question of the unorthodox orientation of St. George's :

We have indeed heard the report that the error was an absolute oversight of his, and that on his having the mistake one day

silently but emphatically hinted to him by the apse of Westminster Abbey, as he stood upon his half-finished work, he expressed great concern. That was some years ago, so we refrain from saying more than that we trust that day gave him a lesson of forethought from which he has profited. We shall for the sake of convenience speak of the various parts of the church as if it were properly orientated. (ibid. p. 153)

There is credit freely awarded to Pugin in the course of this article (v.p. 161) for his performance in designing St. George's, due allowance being made for the fact that its completion took up a decade in which great advances in design were made. Against this, some severe criticism is levelled at Hadfield for the derivative nature of his design, which 'puts, we may say, the architect out of court as an architect in the highest sense of that word' (p. 162). Pugin, however, is now once again - if he ever ceased to be in the eyes of informed and interested contemporaries, which is doubtful - an architect in the full sense of the word, in the view of the Ecclesiologist.

A Change of Role :

There may have been a rapprochement between Pugin and the editors of the Ecclesiologist; but there were less pleasant changes for that periodical in the wider context of events. At the time of the break from Cambridge the Ecclesiologist had been a two-monthly publication; in 1846 it became a monthly, but in August 1848 it reverted to its two-monthly form. It is likely that expert contributors, and supporters of the Ecclesiologist's viewpoint, had become more scarce, and the subscribers less enthusiastic. It is important also to notice that in the hard-fought and acrimonious Rood Screens controversy, which became a big issue in 1848, this periodical played a very small part indeed. In August of that year

(v.vol.9,p.79) it was noted that 'A controversy is at present going on in the Anglo-Roman body as to the applicability of screens to the churches of the present Roman rite'; there was also reference made to an article by F.A.Paley in Dolman's Magazine for July 1848, and to the aversion shown by the Rambler to screens on both theological and architectural grounds. One cannot imagine that, a few years previously, such reticence would have been shown in such a promising controversy, even if it had been primarily a Catholic issue. In October 1848 (vol.9, pp.142-3) came further slight notice of the controversy, with a mention of articles appearing both in the Rambler and the Tablet. No editorial comment was made. This was the sum of the notice given by the Ecclesiologist to an issue which was both protracted and important.

So far, the picture painted of a relationship between Pugin and the Camdenians, then Pugin and the Ecclesiologists, shows a consistent similarity of purpose, though that relationship was never rich in personal intimacy nor obvious except under close study. Each party, within its own religious confines, was working towards the growth and expansion of the medieval revival in church-building and religious observance. The methods of each were firmly based in practical research and careful scholarship; these qualities became a commonplace in the later wave of great Victorian designers and architects, and though pure, archaeological medievalism gradually gave way to a freer, eclectic style, there was much that was innovatory, in terms of these later developments, in the work-habits of Pugin and the Ecclesiologists. There was even a similar streak of obstinacy, a dogged forthrightness that could verge on being downright wrong-headed. When there began to be a failing in the reception accorded to their jointly held theories (and Professor Stanton is quite correct in asserting that the 1846 article had a

lot to do with the realisation by the involved parties that they had begun to fail in some way) they reacted differently. Pugin kept relatively clear of the public gaze for the years from 1845 to 1848; he continued, though, to work as hard as ever. The Ecclesiologist reacted by attacking Pugin, but otherwise failed to adopt any consistent policy. Then by 1848 Pugin and the Ecclesiologist were once more treading the same path, though they were doing it now with less and less public support and esteem. Newer names and ideas were usurping the position the Puginists had held -- men such as Butterfield and, soon, Burges, churches such as All Saints, Margaret Street, publications like the Instrumenta Ecclesiastica, were now in the limelight.

One instance of the less popular stand that ecclesiology was now taking occurs in the field of church music. I have commented earlier that Pugin's involvement with the issue of the revival of medieval forms of church music became, towards the end of his life, slightly obsessive and moreover untopical. His Earnest Appeal for the Revival of the Ancient Plain-Song (1850) is the weakest of his publications, because though enthusiastic he was quite ill-informed on that topic; The Ecclesiologist, once again demonstrating its close intellectual links with Puginist thought, also seized on the issue of the revival of ancient musical forms and sought to demonstrate that this was vital to the continuance of the church-revival movement. In November 1849 (vol. 10, pp. 208-217) an article appeared entitled 'Ecclesiastical Music'. This speaks of 'The want of fervour in the services of the Church, of which the neglect of her music has been at once the consequence and the type' (p. 208) and adds that music is the supreme way of offering service to God. In the issue for February 1850 of the Ecclesiologist appeared a follow-up article with the same title, dealing with further

aspects of this question. Both are well-informed and well-written articles, going a long way towards providing readers with a sound basic knowledge of the subject. But the point lies precisely here: though the Ecclesiologist was informative and interesting, and Pugin at his most vehement, they failed to rouse the public. No general move to reinstate the Gregorian chants resulted; many people openly ridiculed the whole idea, thinking that the move towards medievalism per se had now gone quite far enough.

Pugin and the Ecclesiologist from 1850 to 1852 :

From 1850 the editors of the Ecclesiologist seemed to want to make more, in their periodical's pages, of their connections with Pugin. Doubtless they knew of the waning support for their cause; perhaps they felt that an attempt to regain the former, more or less cordial relationship with Pugin might miraculously reinstate the successes of their joint heyday, in the first quinquennium of the eighteen-forties. In February 1850 (vol. 10, pp. 324-6) Pugin's Floriated Ornament (London, Bohn, 1849) is reviewed warmly :

A new work by Mr. Pugin must always excite attention in those quarters through which we expect to circulate. The one before us opens a new field of artistic study, which we are very glad to see explored by one so full of energy, and of the perception of the beautiful, as its author. (p. 324, op. cit.)

In the following number (April 1850, vol. 10, pp. 393-399) appears a lengthy article entitled 'Mr. Pugin and the Rambler'; this contains discussion of Some Remarks on the Articles which have Appeared in the Rambler Relative to Ecclesiastical Architecture and Decoration (London, Dolman, 1850), written by Pugin *. The rapprochement between Pugin's

* My remarks on the article are necessarily limited; the British

views and those of the Ecclesiologist, and their common turn against the current trend of affairs, is nowhere better demonstrated than in the opening to this review:

We shortly noticed in our last number those startling indications of a new, and we fear a materialistic, spirit which has displayed itself in the trenchant ecclesiological dogmata propounded by a very influential section of the English Roman Catholics, and we there alluded to the ingenious but shifting and more than half repented of support to them which the Rambler has given. The latter periodical has since our last publication met with a doughty antagonist in one who has gained a good claim to write upon what he had so large a share in practically promoting, we mean Mr. Pugin, who has in a short pamphlet covered his ground very well, writing as he always does with vigour and with humour, and withal refuting with great moderation the provoking and inconsistent absurdities of his adversaries, which would have afforded great palliation for a far more liberal employment of those powers of sarcasm which he so eminently possesses, than he has chosen to display. (April 1850, vol. 10, pp. 393-4)

As will be shown later in this chapter, the Rambler was far more in line with current developments and moods of feeling in the ecclesiastical and architectural fields, generally speaking, than were either Pugin or the Ecclesiologist, and these latter were in a sense beginning to head up a blind alley in their medievalised revivalist thinking. This they were coming to realise well enough. The article I cite above is also remarkable in that it includes the nearest thing that was ever published in those stern columns to an apology; and the subject of this was none other than Pugin:

We are very much afraid that those incongruities which.....we

*(contd.) Museum copy of Pugin's Some Remarks has been destroyed by bombing, and efforts to obtain another copy have proved unavailing; I can therefore comment only on the content of the review, not of the publication which prompted it.

have no delicacy in stating do exist in St.Giles,Cheadle,have very much tended to give the public,who cannot of course as a body,be in possession of the private history of every church they see,a less exalted idea of the architect than he deserved. (op.cit.p.397)

The Ecclesiologist almost apologises for criticisms that it made of St.Giles' while it,also,was unaware of the special circumstances. In all,one reads this review with the feeling that the Ecclesiologist was now seeing very much eye to eye with Mr.Pugin.

In October 1851 (vol.12,p.324),in an article entitled 'Ecclesiology in Cambridge',is a brief but complimentary reference to Pugin's work at Jesus College Chapel and the Chapel of 'St.Mary Magdalen College' (as it is called). The June 1851 (vol.12,pp.178ff.) issue had paid compliment to Pugin and Hardman in an article entitled 'Ecclesiological Aspect of the Great Exhibition' (v.p.182,in the subsection on Glass-painting). Of more importance,this same number contains 'Mr.Pugin on Chancel Screens' (op.cit.pp.205-211),a review of Pugin's A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts (1851). Praise is lavished on the descriptions and drawings of 'an amazing number of actual screens', though it is suggested that the letter-press is a little lightweight for the task it has to perform. Pugin's vehemence is also criticised:

.....the latter (i.e. the 'Modern Ambonoclast') being,in other words,a portrait of the Oratorian,or rather the disciple of the critics of the Rambler. Mr.Pugin has reason to be indignant with the latter class,and we ourselves are their steady opponents on all principles of taste and reverence,but we think his sarcastic ridicule of them is sometimes too bitter and his language sometimes too violent.(op.cit.p.206)

This remonstrance forms the 'unwelcome part of our duty',and the article then 'gladly' turns to Pugin's 'bold and honest statements', which from their trenchant character and inherent truth and

common sense have often convinced even ill-wishers of the force of those 'true principles' of which he has so long been the supporter.(ibid.p.206)

Then comes a statement to clarify the position in which the Ecclesiologist at that time saw itself,in relation to Pugin:

There is one thing very striking in reading the present treatise,and that is to see the exactly similar position of Mr.Pugin and his friends in the Roman Communion to that which we occupy with respect to the abuses,the discouragements,and the hopeful signs,in our own Church. It is probably a sense of this fraternity,besides the honest intention to shrink from no statement that bears the impress of truth,that has induced Mr. Pugin to take in this volume,as in his Earnest Appeal,so liberal and charitable a view of the events at the time of the Reformation,in their deeper,as well as their ecclesiological, aspects,in their bearing upon our present state and responsibilities. We did not notice the Earnest Appeal at the time of its appearance,both because its main object was beyond our immediate scope,and also because we waited,as we still wait,for the more detailed historical inquiry into the actual circumstances of the Reformation,of which that pamphlet contained a promise,which is renewed in the present treatise *. But we may say that we feel confident that,whatever temporary odium Mr. Pugin may have incurred,neither he nor his cause will suffer in the long run for this upright pursuit of,and adherence to,the truth.(ibid.pp.207-8)

Doubtless the staff of the Ecclesiologist were well aware that the 'temporary odium' in which Pugin found himself with the Catholic establishment paralleled all too closely their own unpopularity among Anglicans. This extract supports my contention that Pugin and the

* Nor was more than a promise of this historical work ever forthcoming from Pugin. I will however deal later with an unpublished MS which provides vital and interesting leads as to the content of this last work,abruptly terminated by Pugin's early death.

ecclesiological party were at this time going off at a tangent to current opinions. The Ecclesiologist Reference to Pugin's forthcoming historical work might be partly coloured by the political thought that a publication which revealed the stoutly, fanatically Catholic Pugin as leaning towards sympathy with the Anglican viewpoint would constitute a tactical victory for the Church of England against the Catholics. But it is also true that in acknowledging the importance of his historical writings, the Ecclesiologist was admitting into its considerations the fact that these writings were a strong barometer of the state of Pugin's religious thought and relations with the establishment of his church. And the Ecclesiologist, in this article, goes a long way towards publicly aligning itself with Pugin's standpoint. Our conclusion must be that the Ecclesiologist was consciously positioning itself with Pugin in this matter, seeing itself as following a true cause, but one which at the time had no great popular support.

The Ecclesiologist did not refer to Pugin in its columns again until, in October 1852 (vol.13, pp.352-357) his obituary was printed. Even this was, in a way, a demonstration of the curiously ambivalent attitude the periodical had so often shown towards Pugin. The prologue to the obituary proper displays a real warmth, notes that there had been differences, but overall gives a genuine impression of a sense of loss. The obituary itself consists of a reprint from the Morning Chronicle; this is a very fair review of Pugin's life, commenting on many aspects of his work. The only strange comment is the following:

He threw himself indeed, particularly in his later days, most warmly into everything which betokened life in the English Church, with which he sympathised to the fullest extent of the tether of a sincere Roman Catholic. (op.cit., p.354)

This comment is unique in the range of the several obituaries which

appeared after Pugin's death. It echoes exactly that view of him which the Ecclesiologist had recently been taking, and may have been the reason for their choice of this particular obituary to reprint. It does not, however - and here the ambivalence of which I have spoken appears - explain why this periodical, with a staff of competent writers far better informed than average on the subject in hand, could not or would not write its own obituary. Pugin had, after all, been of great importance to the ecclesiological movement, had been the leading light in this field for over a decade, and then suffered an untimely death at a time of cordial relations with the Ecclesiologist. One possibility is that, with Pugin's death occurring in mid-September there was a deadline problem for the October issue; since factual matter relevant to this obituary would have been at the fingertips of the writers concerned, one can hardly pretend that this is sufficient reason. More likely is the possibility that the ever-cautious Ecclesiologist preferred not to reveal an attitude too clearly, but to use another's words to say what it wanted. For, although outspoken in its own field, the periodical never stepped outside that field and never approached anything like radicalism. Its readers were, almost by definition in view of their antiquarian interests, a conservative if not reactionary set of people. And the relationship with Pugin, though founded on reciprocal warmth (with the one large exception), was always rather a distant, formal one. There were no close personal contacts, though the chief personalities did occasionally meet Pugin, as was inevitable. Therefore it is not so strange that when Pugin did die, the Ecclesiologist should still hold its distance. There were, let it be remembered, some quite sensational and partly justified rumours flying about. Did Pugin go insane? Was he a pauper at death? Did he become an Anglican before he died? The Times itself gave some

weight to such suggestions *. So one can envisage the editorial directors of the Ecclesiologist asking themselves, 'Where would we be if we were held to have been in intimate agreement with a madman apostate just before he died in penury ?' A little fanciful, perhaps; but there was a great deal of unpleasantness surrounding Pugin's death, and we cannot now discount the likely effects of that. Certainly it provides us with a feasible answer to the question of why the Ecclesiologist chose to print a second-hand obituary of a man to whom its adherents owed such a great debt.

* v. the Times for 17th. July 1852, p.5, for a report referring to a letter in the Builder of the previous week, on Pugin's removal at public expense to the Bethlehem Hospital. Also included is Lord John Russell's offer to contribute £10 towards starting a subscription, and the following:

Few of our readers probably are aware that Mr. Pugin, as we are positively told, has manifested a desire to quit the Romish Church, if, indeed, he has not formally done so; that he has expressed great remorse for the abuse he has lavished on the Anglican Church, and on more than one occasion, in quieter moments, has drawn checks (sic) of large amount, as being due from him to the Church which he now thinks he has erroneously vilified. Once, as we understand, he said, 'The rest of my life must be one of penitence, to seek forgiveness for the wrongs I have done to the Anglican Church. (quoted from the Builder in the Times)

On July 20th. 1852, p.4, a letter appeared from Edward, Pugin's eldest son, regretting and contradicting reports that his father was in financial straits. Edward does not absolutely deny the reports but says that his father 'has received every assistance from those with whom he has been connected...'. He does not comment on the remarks concerning apostasy. Then on 17th. Sept. 1852, the Times noted, p.7, the death of A.W. Pugin on Tuesday 14th. at St. Augustine's, Ramsgate; doubtless these reports in the Times convinced people who would not have heeded the words of the Builder; thus they appear irresponsible.

The Rambler :

The second part of this discussion of the role of the periodical will be concerned principally with the Rambler. Not until the stance of this publication has been discussed can one validly draw conclusions from the various suggestions brought up during consideration of the Ecclesiologist.

To quote its own subtitle, the Rambler was A Journal of Home and Foreign Literature, Politics, Science, Music and the Fine Arts. To indicate, perhaps, some difference in the minds of the editorial staff of the periodical between it and the preceding topics, the latter one was printed in a fanciful Gothic script. The Rambler is a famous name in British periodical history, but the series which concerns us here began in January 1848. It was a Catholic paper, and appeared weekly. From the first it was slightly contemptuous of the struggles taking place between clergymen of different creeds, as was demonstrated in the number for January 8th. 1848 (vol. 1, p. 30). The record of a short conversation, with the title, 'A Clergyman of the Pointed Gothic School', had the following cast-list: Miss Chantry; Miss Isabel Chantry; Miss de l'Aisle; Miss Pix; Rev. L. Oriel; Rev. O. Slocum; etc.. The following week the Rambler published a review of the Ecclesiologist of Dec. 1847. The reviewer is clear, blunt and rude :

Though the society itself, driven as it has been from its name, its local abode, and its former influential position, has long ceased active operation, it nevertheless struggles hard for a literary existence against the force of uncongenial influences, withdrawn patronage, and the all but universal rejection of its endeavours by the communion into which it vainly strove to infuse an unreal spirit of Catholicity. (Rambler, vol. 1, Jan. 15th. 1848, p. 47)

An attack on the Ecclesiologist's theories of symbolism follows, in which pretensions based on the 'fanciful work of Durandus' are ridiculed. With finality, the Rambler comments, 'We confess that we have very little belief in it'. In the same number (v.p.51) is a review of the Dublin Review, the periodical co-founded by Wiseman and O'Connell in 1836; this, by contrast, is received with great warmth.

The unsuccessful campaign, fostered by Pugin and the Ecclesiologist in 1849, for the propagation of the old forms of church music, has been mentioned above; I claimed that this represented their split from current thought in the religious field, and the general lack of sympathy with which their views were now received. This view is endorsed vigorously by the Rambler in an article entitled 'Gothic Architecture and Gregorian Music'. This also takes the form, a favourite with the Rambler writers in sardonic mood, of a conversation reported verbatim. Chants are summed up thus: *

You can put two together and then have one twice as long as either. But I speak of a musical piece; which must of course be the natural development of certain ideas, with one part depending on another. In like manner you might make an Ionic temple twice as long and twice as wide as the Parthenon; but you would lose the proportions by doing so. This, then, is what I meant to say of the primitive architecture and the primitive music, that they soon come to their limit; they soon are exhausted, and can do nothing more. (Rambler, March 18th. 1848, vol. 1, p. 245)

The disdain evinced by the Rambler for the conventions of medievalism and ecclesiology, in thus loosely using a Classical example in conjunction with a medieval, points its expressed contempt even more. As a wider declaration of policy towards the establishment of a style of art and architecture (or a composite of styles) to suit its time, the article continues:

* This article was written by Newman, being an extract from his Loss and Gain (v. Part 2, Ch. 16), though this source is not acknowledged.

'Modern music, then, could not be in ancient times, for want of modern instruments', said Campbell; 'And in like manner Gothic architecture could not exist till vaulting was brought to perfection. Great mechanical inventions have taken place, both in architecture and in music, since the age of basilicas and Gregorians; and each science has gained by it'.....

'Certainly, Bateman, you must tolerate Pagan architecture, or you must in consistency exclude Pagan or Jewish Gregorians,' said Campbell; 'You must tolerate figured music, or reprobate tracery windows'. 'And which are you for?' asked Bateman; 'Gothic with Handel, or Roman with Gregorians?'. 'For both in their place', answered Campbell. 'I exceedingly prefer Gothic architecture to Classical. I think it the one true child and development of Christianity; but I won't, for that reason, discard the Pagan style, which has been sanctified by the eighteenth century, by the exclusive love of many Christian countries, and by the sanction of a host of saints. I am for toleration. Give Gothic an ascendancy; be respectful towards Classical.' (op.cit., p.246)

Bateman's compromise suggestion that Gregorian chant set to modern harmonies might be the answer, is crushed; but the piece ends:

'It's what is always used, I believe', said Charles. 'Oh yes, we must not go against the age', said Campbell; 'It would be absurd to do so. I only spoke of what was right and wrong on abstract principles; and, to tell the truth, I can't help liking the mixture myself, though I can't defend it'. (op.cit., p.246)

The emphasis is on pragmatism in design and art, and epitomises a strong contemporary feeling for eclecticism, far removed from the purism of the medievalists. It becomes clear that the Rambler will support this new, strong feeling against the Puginist and ecclesiological view. Looking again at the three quotations above, one notices a considerable cleverness in their choice. First Campbell stresses the importance of scientific advance; the cleverness lies in stressing that Gothic, in its day, was founded on a great technological development which made the pointed arch and stone vaulting physical possibilities. Reminded

of this, how can the Gothic aficionado logically argue against the benefit of introducing modern processes into art? Campbell's argument has the advantage, in popular eyes, of endorsing most of the proceedings of industrialised society, while Puginism for the most part militates against them. With some sophistry Campbell then reminds the faltering Bateman that Gregorian music is rooted in Jewish and Classical precept; if this is acceptable, then Classical architecture must also be. As a solution the compromise philosophy of toleration is unveiled, all three men admitting that, abstract principles apart, they are happy with it*. It is wrong to call the attitude these men portray 'indifference'; rather, it is rationalism, pragmatism, that if one has a variety of styles in art, music, architecture or whatever, to choose from, popular taste (which I do not intend in a denigratory sense) will elect to pick the best qualities from each. Purism of the sort demonstrated by Pugin, however valuable in setting standards and reaching towards artistic perfection, is an eccentricity not available to many. This was the basis of the Rambler's stance when it ventured into ecclesiological issues. Local animosities, against Pugin, against the Ecclesiologist, do not invalidate this stance.

On July 8th. 1848 (vol. 2, pp. 227-8) an account of the opening of Pugin's St. George's, Southwark, appeared in the Rambler. That the church was by

* I hesitate to use the word 'eclecticism' again, as it has developed a technical sense with reference to High Victorian architecture. These three men put, as it were, a negative case; the 'eclecticism' of the Victorian architect was a positive effort to resolve an artistic and stylistic dilemma. I would not wish the two things to be confused by describing each with the same word, though they do have their basis in common ground, as I hope will be shown by what I go on to say.

Pugin is minimally noticed, though there is both description and criticism of its fabric and fittings; the church is large and noble in feel, though the nave is too large for the chancel; the timbers and piers, though well-formed, are too slender. This said, comment is restricted almost exclusively to detailing. The font is praised, the screen not; the statue of the Virgin by the screen is harshly criticised as 'calculated rather to excite the derision of the profane, than to stimulate the piety of the devout'; the pulpit and lectern are praised, as is Hardman's glass. Notably, this criticism, favourable or not, is delivered from the layman's viewpoint, not from that of the cognoscenti of the medieval revival. Pugin is certainly not represented as the man deserving of a lion's share of the praise for the building's existence; he is not named as having been the sole architect. Instead the ceremony, which the Rambler calls a 'glorious scene', is reported in detail. One cannot, of course, claim that this was done with the chief purpose of belittling Pugin's achievement, though it is palpably unfair that Father Doyle should be singled out for praise as having been largely responsible for completion of the church. Nor can one claim that Pugin himself would have wanted such singling out; he and the Rambler would have agreed here, at any rate - a major church had been completed to further the Catholic cause in England, and that was the main point. But it is crystal clear that the Rambler and its supporters cared little for Gothicism, for aesthetics, or for Mr. Pugin, any more than they did for the Ecclesiologist. A significant detail to support this view appears from the Rambler report on the opening of St. John's, Salford (the Hadfield church that the Ecclesiologist included in its report on St. George's): Hadfield was named as the architect, it was stated that he led the procession, and there seemed generally to be a greater willingness to award him his due credit.

The Rood Screens controversy :

The protracted and at times tedious screens controversy was conducted largely through the columns of the Rambler in the last years of the eighteen-forties. Despite its overflow into excesses of pedantry, this was at the core an important issue in the field of liturgy and architecture, and no consideration of the role of the Rambler can afford to ignore it. Enough has been said in an earlier chapter by way of introduction to the problem, so I shall enter immediately on the part played by the Rambler.

In the Rambler of July 29th. 1848 (vol. 2, pp. 293-297) an article appeared under the simple title, 'Rood-Screens'; this seems to have been the beginning of the controversy. It was a paper written with the intention of providing information on a subject of which much had been said, but little written. The initial stress was laid on the task of informing, and to back up this idea there was an over-long prefatory discussion, a full one and three-quarter columns, on how trivial disputes can develop into bitterness. Such a beginning was later to assume a certain irony. The article proper was devoted to propagation of the case against screens; first a brief history of the origins of the screen, then the comment that in the course of its history the Catholic church had done more to excise screens from churches than had the Anglican. The article then proceeds to the question of why the screens issue is an important one:

Other things are involved in this discussion besides a few material fabrics of oak and stone. Other ideas are at work besides the pencil of the artist and the chisel of the sculptor. The archaeologist must give place to the Evangelist; the laws of Gothic and Grecian architecture to the living principles of

the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The intercourse between the soul of man and his ever-living, ever-present God, and the aspect which the Church, which is His habitation, shall assume towards an opposing or a wondering world; these are the subjects which are involved in the decision to which the present generation shall come, on what may seem at first sight to be a mere matter of architectural fancy or antiquarian revivalism.
(op.cit.p.295)

The Rambler view is clearly that ornamentation precludes piety; the phrase, 'a mere matter of architectural fancy...' reveals the mistrust felt towards the activities of the medievalist enthusiasts. This view was a prevalent one in the years preceding the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England, when the post-Emancipation idealism which had, to a great extent, set the scene for Pugin's popular success, died away. It was replaced by a practical recognition of the role of Catholicism in England; national conversion was seen to be impossible, evangelism and parish work were the order of the day, especially in the problem areas of urban industrialisation and expansion with its concomitant poverty and suffering. The parish-priest in the Manchester of Disraeli's Sybil or Mrs. Gaskell's North and South had little time for screens, on liturgical or artistic grounds:

In the judgement of many, then, in which I entirely coincide, there is no beauty in the rood-screens of the medieval Gothic churches. I mean, of course, that there is no beauty in their position in the fabric, and in their relation to its elemental features of design and decoration. Intrinsically they are often most exquisite and charming works of the sculptor's art..... That these divisions, however, when placed across the chancel arch, are anything but an injury to the beauty and religious effect of the whole building, I cannot see..... They are, in a word, suggestive of the horizontal character of Greek and Roman architecture, and subversive of the upward, heavenward spirit....
(op.cit.p.295)

So, whether on the pragmatic grounds I speak of, or the aesthetic grounds of this extract, there was a strong feeling and case against the sort of ideology that a supporter of rood-screens would represent. The Rambler, in accordance with its general attitudes, took on the role of opposing such ideology; and in a sense, the screens issue was a 'test-case'. One is struck by the way the Rambler's writer totally disregards the critical assumptions of ecclesiology; to him, the strong horizontal element of a screen is a classical feature and he is not afraid to say so. True, there is in his judgement a strong suggestion of the provocative; he knows that men such as Pugin would tear their hair at this notion. He ignores the opposite view, that 'horizontal' is a strong feature of many Gothic buildings, emphasised by the string-coursing, the brick- or stone-work, the roof lines, the clerestory, as well as by the screen. But his view is a coherent one, a defensible, rational one which many people would have understood and supported. The indifference shown towards the once-powerful critical assumptions of the Puginist or the ecclesiologist says, better than direct attack could do, how those assumptions are by 1848 becoming redundant inside the English Catholic church. The Rambler, in this matter, is the voice of progress. The option, as represented by the Rambler to its readers, was no option at all:

Let us have either antiquity in good earnest, or the nineteenth century in good earnest..... We must take the whole question and argue it out on some elementary, legitimate Christian principle; and not endeavour to combine the customs of the first century, the architecture of the fourteenth, and the feelings and needs of the nineteenth, on a mere external view of the theory of Christian worship. (op.cit.p.296)

In the issue for Saturday 5th. August 1848 (pp.316-20) this article was continued and concluded in much the same vein as the extracts

quoted above. The controversy then raged in almost every issue until January 1849; at the end of December the Editor had declared the correspondence finally closed, but one final anti-screens letter was permitted to appear thereafter. This long correspondence shows that the medievalist camp still had plenty of opposition left in it; unfortunately the contributors adopted a series of anonymous identifications, such as 'X', 'Y', etc., and are now untraceable.* One cannot accuse the Rambler of partiality in presenting this correspondence, for both sides have an extensive say. Much of the argument centred on the issue of visibility for the congregation and whether the sacrament, representing the 'invisible presence', need be clearly on display. Also on whether screens, if present, should be light or heavy structures. In terms of policy (which is more relevant here than detailed consideration of the theology of the case) one must conclude that the protracted affair was a tactical victory for the Rambler and the anti-screen side; six months of argument had led nowhere, no one had benefited. The issue had been made to look petty and tedious; opinion would now say that those who put forward and supported such issues must also be petty and tedious men. The real issues of beauty, piety and reverence behind the Puginist or ecclesiologist case had

* These letters do not merit individual attention; for the complete correspondence v. Rambler, volume 2: August 12th. 1848, p. 343 (anti-screen), pp. 344 and 346-7 (both pro-screen); August 19th. 1848, p. 366 (gives a brief history of screens), p. 368 (from a French archaeologist, on historical usage and making the point that, to revive screens, the usage too must be revived); August 26th. 1848, p. 388 (an article on Thiers, the established authority on screens, coming out strongly in his favour); Rambler, volume 3: (the periodical became a monthly at this point) October 1848, pp. 142-3 (further letters); November 1848, pp. 212-222 (immensely tedious letter touching on the deep principles arising out of the controversy); December 1848, pp. 285-9 (a reply); January 1849, pp. 374-6 (the last word for the anti-screen faction).

been effectively borne down by the rationalist, modernist cause within the English Catholic church.

The stance which the Rambler had taken towards the work of the medievalists continued; in vol.4, May 1849, pp.45-8, is a review of The Church of Our Fathers, by Daniel Rock, Chaplain to the Earl of Shrewsbury and friend and supporter of Pugin *. This review begins with a definition of three kinds of 'antiquarianism', only one of which the author approves. First is that variety which states that whatever is old, is precious; this is the class of Sir Walter Scott's Antiquary. Second is that practised by those who want to revive 'the externals of past days, however inappropriate in our own' (p.45). Lastly there is the kind of antiquarian among whom Dr. Rock is fortunate in finding himself placed by the Rambler:

They who, to a passionate fondness for the relics of the past, unite a deep sense of the nothingness of all that emanates from man himself. (op.cit.p.46)

The Rambler is still clearly campaigning against the medieval and Gothic revivalists. Dr. Rock, a fine scholar and good man, though no activist, is on the other hand above reproach, despite his connections with Pugin.

The most perfect expression of the Rambler case against the Puginist and the ecclesiologist view in the late forties is given in the issue

* The Church of Our Fathers, as seen in St. Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury, with Dissertations on the Belief and Ritual in England Before and After the Coming of the Normans. By Daniel Rock, D.D., Canon of the English Chapter (London, Dolman, 1849, 3 vols.). This work was illustrated by Pugin, but in keeping with its apparent policy of noticing Pugin as little as possible, the Rambler does not record or comment upon this.

for August 1849 (vol.4,pp.233-6). Stemming from an article entitled 'English Art,its Weakness and its Strength' (July 1849,vol.4,p.96), in which the Rambler spoke of the 'mediocrity and poverty of contemporary Catholic Ecclesiastical architecture',this article is intended to elucidate and bear out the earlier comments:

We spoke of it as being no true expression of the mind of the Church,with that peculiar reference to her modern circumstances which would be characteristic of any architecture entitled to the term 'poetic',but as simply a revivalism of one of the outward forms which the inner life of Catholicism assumed in days long past away.(August 1849,p.233)

Here,succinctly put,is the prime objection to the medievalist movement on artistic grounds. A clever use of the word 'poetic' (the underlining is not my own) makes the point weightily but economically. Philosophically or etymologically the usage may not be above reproach, but in the suggestion that 'poetry' in this context can come only when the 'outward forms' and 'inner life' of a thing are in accord, the Rambler verbalises neatly and effectively the objection many people must have felt towards medievalism,existing out of its time and environment. The writer goes on to say that he regards the thirteenth century as productive of 'the most perfect works of architectural genius and skill to which mankind has ever given birth' (p.233). But opposed to such aesthetic dictates are the arguments that the writer of this article has to propound. One age,he says, should have one style:

It is the habitual form in which the mind of the age utters its thoughts,feelings and faith,on all subjects from the loftiest to the most trivial.(op.cit.p.233)

The case being that the style should relate directly and in a manner that is seen to be fitting,to the age in which it is used. The problem of how it may be seen to be thus fitting is not solved,

but the adoption of a vocabulary including such words as 'true', 'natural', 'habitual', all of which the writer uses, seeks to persuade the reader that such definition is practicable.

It is a mere verbal fiction to call anything a fine art which is not the natural expression of the inhabitants of the age and country in which it is cultivated. (op.cit.p.234)

He continues by arguing that the Gothic architects of the middle-ages:

.....never dreamed of adopting forms of building and decoration in sacred things different from those which were in daily use
.....They would as soon have thought of adopting a peculiar language in preaching.... (op.cit.p.234)

This of course is a deliberate perversion of the medievalist case, which sought to reinstate the benefits of medieval life, art and religion in nineteenth century life; but this was a highly idealised aesthetic standpoint, and what the Rambler was offering was clear, concise and practical; also, by its stress on the relationship between contemporary art and life it brought jingoistic notions, and pride in present-day national achievements, to the surface. The Rambler invited its readers to forget such men as Pugin, such bodies as the Ecclesiological Society, who complicated life with anachronistic ideals. Instead they should grasp the present. This enthusiastic spirit is very much the dominant feature of the Great Exhibition of 1851, so it is not difficult to understand why, in the face of such positive views, Puginist feeling lost ground at this time. What the Rambler did not provide with this philosophy was an alternative artistic and stylistic aesthetic; Pugin's clear directionalism in the field of art was to be replaced by what? Where is one to find the 'natural' style of which the Rambler speaks? What are its criteria to be? Who will be its proponents and practitioners? Pugin had so much led the artistic field in his chosen area over the past years that these questions were

impossible for the Rambler to answer.

The name of Pugin is then introduced into the argument:

Mr. Pugin, and other enthusiastic lovers of Gothic architecture, are, it is true, labouring to make Gothic as universal now as it was five hundred years ago; but, however we may admire their zeal, we regard it as an utter waste of toil and talent to attempt that which is in truth an impossibility. (op.cit.p.234)

The argument is beginning to weaken, as this turn to personality demonstrates. This trend becomes clearer as the article continues:

Until the whole race of house-builders can be convinced that a Gothic house is cheaper and more comfortable than one of our present shapeless masses of brick and mortar; until Mr. Pugin can show that a mullioned window with casements keeps out wind and rain better than a square window with sashes....
...we might as well try to get all the world to talk Greek as to make them adopt Gothic architecture as their natural style of building. (op.cit.p.234)

This is a shallow assessment of the issues involved; questions of 'art', and 'style', which had been present at the beginning of the article, have gone by the board in favour of a hectoring tone, a deliberate evasion of real issues. It is pragmatism run wild to assert that, because two types of window are equally rainproof, there are no further grounds than present usage on which to discuss their relative merit. The question of cost is one that had been introduced from the very beginning of the styles controversy, but also seemed unlikely to be satisfactorily resolved *. Ornate buildings were dear,

* Attention should be drawn here to the Rambler, January 1850, (vol.5, pp.57-61); an article by W.W.Wardell consists of a detailed survey of the relative costs of Classical and Gothic buildings recently erected. Wardell comes down heavily in favour of the Gothic as the cheaper style, size for size. Though far from conclusive, this is interesting. The Rambler prints a disclaimer of the opinion expressed, but it is to its credit that it printed an article opposed to its own feelings.

utilitarian ones cheap; the question of style could not validly be brought to bear on this simple assertion. It is the keynote of this Rambler article, as also of much else of that periodical's contribution to the issues under discussion here, that it raised the most searching points and queries, but failed to hit upon the most telling arguments to support them. A well mounted attack, such as I have discussed above, seems to fade out into irrelevant personal criticism and, to some extent, anti-medievalist bitterness. Partly this was because the Rambler was not a specialist religio-architectural publication, as the Ecclesiologist was. It could not enter fully, or with conviction, into the aesthetic issues; so it tended to belittle them. Nonetheless the arguments it produced were powerful, and we must assume also effective; its readership was not composed of ecclesiastical architects, did not have the specific common ground that belonged to readers of the Ecclesiologist. So this deficiency was not, in that sense, a great one. The resultant practicality of the Rambler's artistic criticisms, which I have noted on several occasions, may even have been a positive virtue in the eyes of its readers. Unfortunately there was often also an anti-medievalist bitterness in its articles, and it is on such a note that the present one ends:

When we have learned to distinguish a work of art from a manufacture, there will be some chance of our growing into artists. Self-conceit and self-applause are the bane of all that is noble and progressive. The frog could not puff herself out to the size of the ox.....do not let us think ourselves poets in our generation, or plume ourselves on walking in the steps of the men who built York and Cologne, the Parthenon and the Pantheon; or, when we have spent all our money, and wasted all our energies, we shall find, like Monsieur Jourdain, that we have been all our lives talking prose without knowing it. (p.236, op.cit.)

As has been demonstrated, the Rambler disliked and opposed, as a matter of policy, both the Catholic medievalists and the Anglo-Catholic body. Before closing this section we should consider two articles, appearing in 1850, which clarified the stance of the Rambler in relation to both of these bodies. In April 1850 (vol.5, pp.367-375) appeared 'Mr. Pugin and the Rambler', a review of the Pugin pamphlet Some Remarks on the Articles Which Have Recently Appeared in the Rambler Relative to Ecclesiastical Architecture and Decoration (London, Dolman, 1850). The review begins as it means to go on:

These 'remarks' - which are not printed in Gothic letters - contain an extraordinary amount of misrepresentation. Indeed, did we not know how men are carried away by their feelings, we should have said that it was hardly possible that an honourable man could so systematically pervert an opponent's meaning, or attribute to him opinions and statements so completely the reverse of those which he has really put forth. (op.cit.p.367)

Nor is this strong tone relaxed as the article progresses; on Pugin's claim that he has been unfortunate in his production of poor finished buildings heavy irony is employed:

If we are to believe his own account, he is the most ill-used individual in the community. An adamant fate has compelled him to live in a perpetual state of self-abnegation, making drawings which he detested and building churches only to be the first to say they ought to be pulled down again. And no sooner has this stern destiny forced from his pencil the designs for these poor, naked, freezing, buildings, than an avenging Nemesis has seized his hand and wrung from him patterns for stencilling their frigid surfaces with all manner of repulsive colours to be a mark for the jests of ill-natured 'Ramblers' and for the scoffs of designers of three-halfpenny paper-hangings. Really this is too bad from a gentleman who wrote in the Dublin Review two elaborate articles for the sole purpose of showing what a glorious revival of the old architecture was taking place in England, and illustrated them with a long series of

illustrations from the very churches he himself was building *. Surely it was enough for Mr.Pugin thus far to outstep the ordinary regulations of criticism,and to come forward as his own trumpeter. But that he should now turn round upon his employers and assure them that not one of these churches which were then erecting is fit to be seen,and that it is all their fault and not his,is a specimen of modesty which is quite unrivalled. (op.cit.p.367)

Of the many attacks,in the course of his career,levelled at Pugin, this is the first which completely lacks respect for him. On the showing of this article the Rambler has,in 1850,lost all respect and treats Pugin as a spent force. True,they had never expressed much respect for him or his ideas and work; but for a periodical to launch,within its own Communion,an attack of such virulence seems to indicate some certainty that it has the support of its readership behind it. I believe this article to set a date where the anti-Puginist,anti-medievalist feeling which I have traced from its inception early in the forties through to its prevalence in the latter years of the decade,has become openly dominant. Puginism,the pioneering artistic movement of the forties,has become extinct,has ceased to have a future. The attack is continued with great power through the article:

When a church builder has requested him to furnish drawings for a church of a certain size,and for a certain sum,instead of replying openly and fairly that the sum was too small,and, if it could not be increased,declining the work,he has indulged in all kinds of pleasing dreams,sketched plans and elevations which by no possibility could be completed with the funds assigned,and then consented to cut down one feature after another till the mere 'ghost' of the design remained. We should like to know what Mr.Pugin would say to persons who treated him in this way. What would he say to his shoemaker, if he had brought him home a pair of top-boots when he had ordered a pair of light shoes ? 'For true economy',the man

* A reference to Pugin's Present State.

of leather might reply, 'There is nothing like boots!'

'My good friend', would Mr. Pugin retort, 'Did I ask you to make me boots or shoes?' Mr. Pugin may account it degrading to be likened to a cobbler; but nevertheless, a commission and an order are, in reality, one and the same thing; and when a man undertakes a work, he is bound to do that work, and none other. What would Mr. Colburn and Mr. Bentley say to Mr. Disraeli, if they had agreed to give him so many hundred pounds for a novel, if the novelist quietly sent them in a MS History of Europe, with the information that history was a much nobler thing than fiction? (op.cit.p.369)

Surely the waters of Lethe must spring somewhere near St. Augustine's at Ramsgate, and the zealous founder of that church, which we are assured is to be the one oasis in the desert, must daily quaff deep draughts of its entrancing stream. (op.cit. p.371)

Why did the Rambler so strongly resent Pugin's medievalist ideas? This resentment might have stemmed from various affectations which Pugin adopted, such as the use of an episcopal cross before his signature; also from the apparent lack of humility which allowed Pugin, a layman, not even an ex-university man, to dispute in theological fields as well as historical and architectural. On what it saw as his overweening self-opinionativeness the Rambler commented, 'Against this mode of sitting in judgement upon the Church and upon living Catholics, we cannot too strongly protest' (op.cit.p.374); but one is reluctant to believe that such personal antipathies were more than marginally responsible for the formation of such strong anti-Pugin feeling. As a non-specialist Catholic periodical, reviewing the whole contemporary cultural field, one may assume that the Rambler took a perspective view representative of a wide range of current attitudes. Its partisan views would be gleaned from a wide range of public opinion and attitude, as befitted its wide range of readership when

compared with such a publication as the Ecclesiologist. Similarly the attention it devoted to any one specialised section of its field of concern, would reflect the degree of interest with which a wide section of the public regarded that section. For these reasons we can regard the Rambler as a tolerably accurate barometer, supporting the view that medievalism and its concomitant forces was becoming a cultural backwater, the object of a widespread feeling of scorn. The general reason for this lay in a total dissatisfaction with its aesthetic assumptions, the sense that it was imitative rather than artistic, and the feeling that it did not relate at all to the problems and preoccupations of the age.

As Pugin was dealt with in 1850 by the Rambler, so also was the Anglo-Catholic party, of which the ecclesiological body formed an important segment. In May 1850 the Rambler published an editorial (vol.5, pp.391-407) under the title, 'Prospects of the Anglo-Catholic Party in the Established Church', which party the Rambler defined as 'that remarkable school in the Established Church of England which has taken its stand against the vulgar Protestantism of the day' (op.cit.p.392). This editorial is concerned mainly with certain doctrines that are vital in the dispute within the Church of England as to whether the Anglo-Catholic standpoint is a tenable one. The doctrine of baptismal regeneration is cited; as a doctrine it had been denied by the Church of England, but if the Anglo-Catholics had held to their stated views, they would not have been able to accept this decision. For of the Anglo-Catholics, the editorial states:

....they have maintained the great truth that our Blessed Lord established one holy, visible Church upon earth, and that it is by the instrumentality of this Church that He not only hands on the knowledge of revealed truth to the successive generations

of men, but that He also conveys that spiritual assistance without which even the Word of God itself is powerless to save the soul. This belief in the true, proper, distinct office of the sacraments as the channels of saving grace has been from the first the essential difference between the High-church and the Low-church schools, between the Anglo-Catholic and the Evangelical, between those who lean most upon the Prayer-Book and those who glory in the Thirty-Nine Articles. (op.cit. p.392)

Clearly the Rambler is attempting to sweep away the larger part of the exciting events of the Catholic and medievalist revivals that took place in the early part of the forties. Pugin has been finally dismissed; the ecclesiologists have long been out of its favour; now the whole Anglo-Catholic party, which has failed to stand out for the Catholic doctrine of baptismal regeneration, is said to be defunct.*

Thus the attitudes and writings of the Rambler in the latter part of the eighteen-forties and the early fifties provides a clear contrast to the Puginist and ecclesiological viewpoint. If Pugin and the Ecclesiologists were occasionally at variance, the Rambler consistently and savagely opposed both, and its opposition helps to demonstrate the closeness of the links which bound both together. In the final section of this chapter I propose to refer to some lesser periodical writing and to draw conclusions from these, and from the evidence from the Ecclesiologist and the Rambler presented above.

* A further article, Rambler, April 1851 (vol.7, pp.310-3), 'Anglo Catholics in Theory and Fact', takes up and elaborates this argument. A twelve-point table is compiled, with such topics as Infallibility, baptismal regeneration, Transubstantiation, etc.; the stated aims of Anglo-Catholicism in these areas are compared with its actual achievements. The inevitable conclusion is that nowhere does its practice bear out its theory.

Final Remarks and Conclusion :

The impact of the Ecclesiologist and the Rambler on the progress of the medieval revival in the eighteen forties is further proof of the importance of the inter-relationship of current literature with the actual architectural and religious processes of that revival. From the beginnings of the Gothic revival the link between literary and practical expressions had been close - one might even claim that the one had paralleled the other. Walpole's Castle of Otranto was a clear demonstration of the same romantic, dilettantist medievalism evinced in the building of Strawberry Hill; Beckford also produced a comparable situation, the emotional and intellectual content of Vathek, with its orientalism, fantasy and escapism paralleling the inspired, egocentric excesses of Fonthill Abbey. These two examples are united in lacking a scholastic content; they were the playthings of rich men. Among serious antiquarians also, however, literature played its part in forwarding the medievalist revival. Carter, Britton, Rowlandson, Rickman and both of the Pugins fall into this class. So when one attempts to draw fine conclusions concerning the progress of the revivalist movement in the eighteen forties it is rational to look to literature, in some form, to help provide these conclusions.

In 1849 a periodical called the Eclectic Review, a singularly prophetic title, published an article entitled 'The Literature of Gothic Architecture' *. This was an attempt to come to some conclusions on the present state of the Gothic revival through the medium of various publications, both past and present. Consideration of what this article

* v. the Eclectic Review, vol. XXV, New Series, January 1849, pp. 35-50.

has to say is extremely valuable in the context of the issues being dealt with in this chapter. Of the contemporary situation the Eclectic Review says that, to date, A.W. Pugin has best succeeded in putting forward the case for the 'revival of purely Christian artistic feeling, in its relation to architecture' (op.cit.p.35). Pugin's appreciation is cited, both of the intrinsic value of such a revival, and of the patterns of historical development that are encompassed within it. There is also mention of the wrong that has been done to Pugin, quite undeservedly in the opinion of the article's author, in that he is, in 1849, seen as 'standing as the stock type of a pariah class in artistic thinking' (op.cit.p.36). This is certainly the position into which, as we have seen, the Rambler has tried to put Pugin, and not without success. Towards the ecclesiological viewpoint the Eclectic Review shows markedly less sympathy. But credit is awarded to this party for having narrowed the study of medieval art to the scientific basis which, the article believes, is its appropriate mode:

This party has actually done something for the increase of our knowledge in this direction; much alloyed with exaggerated pedantic emphasis on specialities, and general Puseyistical religious leaven. It claims to have done much more; to have been in fact originative of that tone of thought and feeling, of which it has been only an accidental embodiment. For as we have already intimated, this general transition of taste is altogether a much larger matter; belongs to the spirit of the Age, not to that of the Universities, or of the Tractarian portion of the Establishment. This party, indeed, has been characterised by its petty pedantry, its arrogance, and ill-considered positiveness of assertion, as by its love of ancient art. Hence, no slight feeling of hostility was, at one time, roused against it among the professional architects; a feeling evidenced very strongly in some articles which appeared in Weale's Quarterly Papers, articles not themselves revealing any very sure or deep

artistic insight in their professional authors.*

(op.cit.p.37)

The conclusions of this article from the Eclectic Review are in many ways close to my own - encouragingly so. But the premises from which that periodical worked are far from so. Its judgement is, as is evinced in what is clearly stated above, that the movement to revive the practices of ancient art by the extension of knowledge is something which ought not to be bound up with any sort of religious interest, particularly the 'general Puseyistical religious leaven' of the ecclesiological party. This is particularly so when procedural failings such as arrogance, petty pedantry and others play a significant part. The personal failings of the heads of the Ecclesiologists on this score are well known, and one can only concur with the Eclectic Review's opinion here. The former case is not, however, so easily resolved. Are the aesthetics of the Gothic revival, of medievalism, separable from the religious interests evinced in the religious revivals which took place over the period from 1829 to 1850? With Pugin and his supporters (and here I include the Ecclesiologists since they were, in reality, Puginists) the answer to this question must be no. The aesthetics and the principles of the movement to promote Catholicism through medievalism, which I have described at length in this thesis, with Lord Shrewsbury, Ambrose Phillipps, Crace, Hardman and Minton playing their parts in support of the inspirational leader Pugin, were not resolvable into separate parts. Nor were they in those cases where, within the established Church of England, men of

* Weale's Quarterly Papers on Architecture generally opposed the Camdenian, or ecclesiological stand; this reference is to such articles as that from Weale, vol. 2, 1844, 7, 'Present Condition and Prospects of Architecture in England'.

catholic inclination pursued the revival of ancient forms represented in both the artistic and liturgical aspects of church practice and procedure. It was to be a feature of the next, eclectic, stage of the movement which had begun as the Gothic revival, that the issues of artistic practice and religious principle ceased to be tied together by the close and definite bonds of historical knowledge, precedent and rightness characteristic of the Puginist period.

One must also consider the Eclectic Review's comments on the 'general transition of taste' taking place at this time. The suggestion made in the above extract, that the Ecclesiologist overestimated, on a continuing basis, its role in bringing about a transition in taste such as is referred to, is a fair one. But to impute the true reasons for this change (which did indubitably occur) to something as nebulous as the 'spirit of the Age' is as hazy in conception, as the Ecclesiologist had shown itself over the years to be arrogant. The lion's share of the praise for transmuting the fantasies of the early Gothic revival into a pattern of medievalist theory, into something which could be assimilable into a general pattern of taste, must fall to Pugin and those who followed his ideas and inspiration. In an earlier section on the use of craftsmanship I have shown how Pugin worked towards creating a generally acceptable, plain, stout style of furniture in his last years; this style was to be used in, and become an integral part of, domestic taste and furnishing. That is the sort of development, the sort of standard, on which one has to judge the progress of 'general transitions of taste'. Some years prior to that Pugin had also worked to develop a style of richness, of high-quality craftsmanship, of medieval splendour, and that style too had by the end of his life become an accepted thing. Theorising

apart, it was work like this, done when there were no others capable of doing it, or seeing the need for it, which led to the change in general standards of taste which the Eclectic Review knew to exist, but failed to pin-point.

Much of the space in this chapter has been concerned, directly or indirectly, with evidence which might enable us to answer the question of when Puginism ceased to be a moving force, and over what period its influence was lost. What succeeded it, and how did this successor differ from it? The answer lies largely in the fact that there was no one successor to the compound movement which comprised 'Puginism', a compound of architectural, artistic, religious and historical components. The growth of disfavour which the heads of the Catholic church felt for Pugin has been charted in some detail; such enthusiastic, idealistic movements as the missionary attempts of Barbieri and Gentili, with which Pugin was linked in spirit, had not grown into the contemporary representations of medieval zeal and practice that their founders and supporters, men such as Ambrose Phillipps, had hoped; the sparse and functional building programme of the Oratorians was by 1850 seen to be more relevant to the vast, parish-based needs of the day than the noble cathedral churches of St. George or St. Chad. In short, the Catholic church itself was working to interpose a split between the artistic and religious portions of the medieval revival and the Catholic revival with which Pugin was concerned. Outside the Catholic church new artists, new architects, were by 1850 facing the stylistic issues of the day with a different set of values and ideals, and producing different solutions.

This same issue, of a split being engineered to separate artistic from

religious implications, was present also in the Anglo-Catholic movement. The Eclectic Review, in the article cited above, claims that the Oxford Archaeological Society survived the forties in a way the Ecclesiological Society did not. This, it is suggested, was because it confined itself to the extension of antiquarian knowledge; this characteristic it shared with the many local archaeological societies all over the country, which also survived and flourished long after Pugin and the ecclesiologists were gone. If one regards these societies as representing the standard, compromise approach to medievalist antiquarianism at this time, and its links with religion, then it can be seen that the ecclesiological movement founded at Cambridge, and the Oxford Movement, took the two opposing, extreme views. The former had strong historico-archaeological interests, which determined its stand in religious and architectural issues; the latter also had strong historical interests, but these were largely confined to the scholarly field of precedent and evidence in predominantly doctrinal matters, though, in common with the ecclesiologists, its deliberations turned it towards Catholicism. By 1850 each of these movements, so different in their aims and styles, had received telling blows, not only from the Anglican establishment, but also from the Catholic. Each continued, but diluted, and shorn of its original high intentions. It is not my task here to analyse fully the Anglo-Catholic movement, so I need only say that the ecclesiological party lost influence because general opinion turned against the theoretical linking of artistic issues and stylistic questions with religious ones. That is to say, Gothic had now triumphed, and these things were no longer mutually justifying as they had been for a short time, when Puginism was at its peak. The criterion of contemporary usefulness, which I have tried to show slowly arising, in the evidence presented in this chapter, would have increasingly to be satisfied from now on. Theoretical medievalism was dying, pragmatic

eclecticism would for the time being replace it.

The Ecclesiologist managed to comprehend this change, though not to adapt fully to it. Indeed, it could not so adapt without a complete change of character. This partial acclimatisation is reflected in some of the issues in the early fifties: in August 1852 (that is to say, after the end of Pugin's effective working life, but before his actual death) two articles appeared written by the rising young architect, G.E. Street. The first of these, from a paper read at the thirteenth anniversary meeting of the ecclesiologists held on 9th. June 1852, is on the subject of stained glass (v.vol.13, pp.237 ff.). From the premise that no glass produced to date in the medievalist revival will stand the test of 'impartial criticism' in one hundred years time, the article examines afresh the problem of producing good stained glass; 'afresh', because it does so without any reference to the dogmas of the past two decades, but solely on the merits of the problems as Street sees them. The second article (also Ecclesiologist, vol.13, August 1852, pp.247-262) is entitled, 'The True Principles of Architecture, and the Possibility of Development. A Paper Read before the Oxford Archaeological Society, on February 18th. 1852, by G.E. Street Esq., architect'. In this article the author suggests (v.p.250) that the antiquarian-based system will never prosper, but will 'follow to an unhonoured grave, the wretched succession of false styles which have so long held an ignominious sway throughout the land'. He also spends some space (v.pp.254-5) on considering the possibility of learning from Classical forms also. In particular he considers the aspect of horizontality in Gothic - the lines of roofs, parapets, string-courses, even the brick and stone-work itself - and stresses their importance to the overall effectiveness of the style.

Such lines of thought as these reflected the attitudes of architects of that day; but I do not suggest that Street, in putting them forward, was leaving Pugin altogether behind :

For the law of truth is one which, even if held to be of most immense importance, does yet in no way disparage the influence of religion in art; and I shall therefore assume, first, that in good architecture, whatever is truthful must of necessity be in itself proper and good, even though it have no old precedent in its favour; and second, that no development can be good which does not proceed upon this principle. (op.cit. p.248)

The Puginian concern for truth and for religion is still there; but two fresh dicta, that precedent shall not be an exigency and that the unspecified notion of 'development' is introduced, set this apart from Puginism.

The Rambler was more straightforward in its assumptions of what was to come. From its inception in 1848 it refused to accept the authority of Pugin or the ecclesiologists, and by 1850 it was clearly stating that it believed the Anglo-Catholic party within the established Anglican church to be an anomaly and an anachronism. Also that the architectural influence of Pugin, always overrated, was dead. It is not easy to break the issues which have been discussed in this chapter into component parts; Puginism is best characterised in the view that it had no distinct, separable component parts but was a complete amalgam of religion and art. Hence, neither the art-historical nor the religious interpretation of its progress is alone sufficient. Puginism arose because the situation was temporarily such as to permit the fanatical application and sense of purpose which the idealism of Pugin and like-minded men demanded. It fell as soon as these special conditions were removed - as soon as the Catholic church lost its

post-Emancipation euphoria, and realised it could not re-convert the whole of the British Isles; as soon as the Anglo-Catholics of the church-building party, who closely followed Puginism in their views, were seen to be occupying a position of inconsistency, and were prevented from further occupying it; as soon, also, as the artistic concepts of this kind of medievalism were seen to be inadequate to the demands of a national art-style, which was increasingly felt to be a *sine qua non*. By 1848 these three objections were beginning to coalesce, and harden into a body of opinion which was strong enough to shake the temporary supremacy of Pugin's views and ideals. The account that one can gain of the progress of this phenomenon, by a detailed study of some areas of the current periodical field, is one of the more coherent contemporary accounts available to us in this field. It supports, in all significant details, the accounts rendered from the study of the artistic and religious developments of the years under consideration, as represented in the other chapters of this thesis in all their aspects. But only a detailed study of the necessary periodicals can reveal the story, and it is this that I have attempted to achieve in this chapter.

Pugin's Unfinished Work - Including an account of an unpublished Manuscript.

Previous Chapters have dealt with the happenings of the latter years of Pugin's life, years in which he was partially estranged from the Catholic establishment and the process of the Catholic revival in which he had once been a major figure; years also when he embarked on new experiments in design, new interpretations of the historical movements and events he had studied from youth; when his role as architect began to be taken over by others, many of whom were to attain greater popular acclaim than he, though their work could not have come about without his achievements having come before. This chapter is intended to draw together the threads of the last years. Largely this will be done through examination of the content and implications of the commonly held view that Pugin was, prior to his death, engaged on a highly controversial historical work which drastically realigned his own position in relation to Catholicism, and therefore to his life's work as well. A previously unpublished manuscript will be examined, which will be shown to represent a draft version of many of the ideas to be found in that unfinished, and now no longer extant, work. In addition to consideration of this manuscript, more general matters will be considered, especially that of the position of Catholicism in England by 1852.

The last published statement of Pugin's case for the English Reformation is to be found in his Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy (London, Dolman, 1851). As has been said in the earlier chapter concerning Pugin as historian, the Earnest Address did not contain much factual matter that was new to Pugin; but it did

mark the beginning of a new phase in Pugin's development as an interpreter of history. No longer, as in the Contrasts, was Pugin using historical fact as a platform from which to conduct his campaign for the furtherance of the Catholic faith in England. He was now treating historical material more objectively, even to the extent of drawing some damaging conclusions about the history of the Catholic church. Contained in this first edition of the Earnest Address is a blurb which announces, 'Preparing for Press. A new view of an old subject; or the English Schism impartially considered by A. Welby Pugin'. Benjamin Ferrey makes reference to the existence of such a work in his Recollections, giving the title, An Apology for the Church of England *. E.S. Purcell, the author of the Appendix on religious matters which is included in Ferrey's biography, also mentions that this book was in preparation **. Purcell maintains that the book was to have been called, An Apology for the Separated Church of England since the Reign of the Eighth Henry. Written with Every Feeling of Christian Charity for her Children, and Honour of the Glorious Men She Continued to Produce in Evil Times. Unlike Ferrey, who is very cautious when writing of the final events of Pugin's life, Purcell accords complete integrity to Pugin's motives in the writing of this book, though for the wrong reason. He comments:

* Benjamin Ferrey, Recollections of A.N.W. (sic) Pugin and his Father Augustus Pugin (London, Stanford, 1861). v.p.266, footnote.

** Edmund Sheridan Purcell, known also to students of Pugin for his The Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle (edited by Edwin de Lisle, Macmillan, London, 1900). Ferrey commissioned the Appendix to his Recollections, as he felt inadequate to the task of dealing with the Catholic aspect of his subject's life.

The ardent admirer of medieval times had on the sudden discovered that the close of the middle ages was no period of glory of which a Catholic could well be proud, and he was forced, as it were, by the revulsion of feeling to make this public avowal. (Recollections, p. 429)

As has been described at some length in the earlier chapter on historicism, Pugin's 'revulsion of feeling' was far from sudden and can be traced, in its embryo, back to the early part of the forties. Purcell was correct, though, in the belief that this unfinished work represented a watershed in Pugin's life, as will be born out in the following pages.* For in it, he dramatically verbalised his discontent.

Thus it has long been known that this final, incomplete work had existed in a draft version of some completeness, and that it had dealt with some severity with the English Catholic church, while viewing the established Church of England rather more favourably than was Pugin's custom. The unpublished manuscript to which I have referred throws some light on the exact content of the work, so I will proceed now to consider its content, standing and authenticity. A small, red-

* E.S. Purcell deals with the unfinished book in Chapter 3 of his Appendix to Ferrey's volume. He does not specify the text or fragments that he had to work from, though they seem to have been quite extensive; on page 431 he claims that Pugin was advised not to proceed with the book without the aid of a 'sound theological advisor' - ie. a censor from within the Catholic establishment - nor until the uproar caused by his Earnest Address had subsided. In detailing the actual content of the draft copy of the book Purcell outlines a version markedly similar to that in the MS to be considered in this chapter. To illuminate his comments he quotes from the Earnest Address and not, regrettably, from the unfinished work. The undoubted similarity between these two works will be dwelt on and explained below.

leather bound notebook, it has some seventy leaves numbered by Pugin. The relevant text appears in the back part of the notebook, filling the leaves from 69 to 30, mostly written on one side only *. In the front part of the notebook, written in identical form, appears a rough draft of the story of the commendatory Abbot of Conques, Louis de Chantal, and his executioner the revolutionary Jacques Frenin. Neither text has any title, date or means of identification attached to it by Pugin. The question of dating is naturally a primary consideration. The story referred to above appears in Pugin's Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, published by Dolman in 1851; Louis de Chantal figures as the Pagan Ambonoclast, Jacques Frenin as the Revolutionary Ambonoclast (v. the Treatise, pp. 81-97; also, for further comment on the content of this story, v. the next chapter, on Pugin's literary accomplishments). Pugin's Diary for 1851 has an entry under February 16th. which reads, 'Sent off MSS to Dolman'. This entry may refer to the Treatise, thus placing it very early in that year; certainly it cannot refer to the Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy, which had been published very early in 1851 **.

* This notebook now forms part of the collection of Pugin material at the Victoria and Albert Museum Library; it came to the museum very recently, in 1969, when it was purchased along with a great deal of other material, from a descendant. It had, without a doubt, been kept in the family since Pugin's death. The unused faces of the leaves are occasionally utilised by Pugin to add notes, the relevance of which to the text is often obscure. The quality of the text is very bad, being pencil-written obviously at great speed, possibly while travelling. Consequently a complete transcription presents insuperable difficulty. An appendix to the thesis will give most of the clearer passages not quoted in the course of this chapter.

** Its text is dated, Ramsgate 1850; Pugin's letter to Wiseman (3rd. edn., 1875, pp. 45ff.) is dated Ramsgate, February 1851 and refers to 'reviews in the papers' (p. 45) which have, by that time, already appeared.

The only other possibility would be that this Diary reference is to a MS copy of the very, final, work which we are discussing here, but this seems highly unlikely *. Our conclusion is that the Earnest Address was completed late in 1850, published in 1851, either in January or early February; the Treatise also was ready for the press by mid-February, and sent off to Dolman then. Certainly for the rest of that year Pugin was kept abundantly busy with the Great Exhibition and incapacitated by more than one severe bout of illness, which bears out the conclusion that both works were off his hands early in the year. The dating of each is relevant; the tales of the two Ambonoclasts are, structurally, an appendage to the Treatise and it would be easy to infer that Pugin wrote them and included them late in the day. The Earnest Address I believe to have channelled off some of the effort that was being directed towards completing the unfinished work, for the following reason: the establishment of a new Catholic hierarchy put considerable pressure on Pugin; his immediate wish was to celebrate that great event by writing some form of commemorative document. But he had also been working towards expressing his new and exciting thoughts on the history of the Catholic church. It will be clear from what has already been said of his projected publication (and these intimations will be reinforced with proof in due course) that these two projects would have involved Pugin in considerable personal conflict. He resolved this conflict, in my opinion, by the rather unhappy

* According to the Bibliography of Professor Stanton's Pugin (v. p.211) Pugin also published in 1851 his Some Remarks on the Articles Which Have Recently Appeared in the Rambler (London, Dolman). But in fact this work was published in 1850. The Rambler for April 1850 (vol.5, pp.367-375) published a review of Some Remarks. We need not, therefore, consider this work in the present argument.

expedient of publishing the Earnest Address. This did celebrate the establishment of the Hierarchy, but it also contained some of the new ideas that had been coming to Pugin at this time and which caused Cardinal Wiseman, as we have seen, to object to the content of the volume. Had the hierarchy not been established at this point, then it is reasonable to believe that Pugin would have waited a little longer and published his new ideas, in complete, not embryonic, form. To return to the issue of dating the MS: one can conclude from what is said above that the tale of the two ambonoclasts and the draft of the new work were written very shortly before the Treatise and the Earnest Address appeared in print - that is to say, round about the middle of 1850 or, at the earliest, at the beginning of the year.

It is a little ironic that Pugin, having spoken of the 'grossest misapprehension' which existed concerning the breach with Rome, should go on in the opening paragraphs of this MS to speak of his wish for religious tolerance:

It is therefore in the hope of remedying prejudice and misapprehended causes of bitterness and fear that I have compiled this short account of the change of religion in this country and I trust that all will give it patient and unbiassed perusal.
(MS, leaf 69)

For at this stage of his life, as his An Address to the Inhabitants of Ramsgate (Dolman, 1850) shows; Pugin was still surrounded by a great deal of mistrust and opposition on a personal level; also, as the preceding chapter has attempted to show, he was faced with considerable mistrust and opposition from some quarters of his own, Catholic party. We can read into this statement of his the fact that his own desire for fierce controversy is ebbing, and he seeks to effect some form of rapprochement with his opponents, whoever they be. He goes on to outline his basic thesis for the MS:

I feel certain that real authors of change were among the Catholics and not the Protestants. Protestantism is an effect not a cause; I therefore maintain that one should look to the cause and I believe if we take the fourteenth or even the thirteenth century, we shall find a more satisfactory means of explaining this great movement than in the more evident actions of the sixteenth century. (leaf 68, MS)

This idea of cause and effect is not new to Pugin, for he made a similar statement at the beginning of the Earnest Address, a passage already quoted in the earlier chapter on historicism which I repeat here, in a different context:

Protestantism is an effect, not a primary cause; it is a sort of disease, or fungus, that has developed itself on the Catholic body, and as a skilful physician removes a tumour by treating the whole system, rather than by local application, so I conceive that if we turn from Protestantism and its excesses to the consideration of the primary causes from whence it sprung, we shall do much to heal, if not to remove altogether, the sad, the sickening divisions that now afflict this land. (Earnest Address, 1851 edn., pp. 1-2)

There is a significant shift of emphasis discernible between these two related statements. In the Earnest Address passage Pugin demonstrates that concern for putting an end to strife and disagreement, that I have already pointed out as being present in the opening lines of the MS. He also shows that he is now capable of putting forward the view that the Catholic church must take a large part of the blame for its own downfall. But while in the Earnest Address passage he speaks of Protestantism as a 'tumour' on the Catholic body, in his MS text he speaks of it as 'this great movement', and to its protagonists as the 'authors of change'. Almost certainly, as has been argued, the Earnest Address was loosely based on the MS text, which pre-dated it; there can be no logical ground for arguing that the MS text was in fact written after the Earnest Address, as the duplication between the two would then be quite pointless and incomprehensible. So we see here

a statement written for publication which, though controversial, is a good deal less so than another contained in a draft of an earlier date. Here is further evidence that the Earnest Address was in reality a watering-down of Pugin's true views, which he produced because of his desire to celebrate the hierarchy; as events showed, however, he did not moderate his views sufficiently to escape the censure of Wiseman.

After this beginning the argument of the MS text follows chronological lines. Pugin gives a history, in brief, of the development of degeneracy and corruption inside the Catholic medieval church, from the earliest date of its appearance. For the centuries preceding the Reformation he analyses the different types of religious men and the effect he sees each type as having on the overall decline of standards. Particular attention is paid to the damage wrought by the leaders of the church *. The antagonism between different orders of clergy is noted: the regular clergy, comprising the monastic and collegiate orders, and the secular, represented by the parish priests, are shown to have been antagonistic then (just as they are, to some extent, now); the mendicant orders and village priests are praised as having exercised more influence for good on the people. As Pugin says on leaf 60, 'It is not surprising that this class of religious should have acquired the confidence and the support of the great masses of the people'.

Wycliffe, the reformer, is introduced into the text (v. leafs 58-7), and treated with consideration and some approval. Then the Reformation period is considered. Pugin offers a list of three 'serious errors' which

* v. MS text, leaf 65 for an instance; passages cited here are contained, in transcription, in the Appendix on the MS text. (v. pp. i-vi)

people habitually make in thinking of the schism with Rome; these are:

....to imagine, 1st. that England separated from Rome on matters of faith and 2nd. that the Protestants and the Catholics were two distinct classes of people, the former driving out the latterand 3rd. that the people took an active part in the change and in expelling the ancient clergy. (leaf 54, MS)

Pugin goes on to reinforce these statements (v. leaf 53), depicting convincingly a situation in which priest and congregation alike maintained a Catholic outlook, and only a legislative influence from above brought about the actual changes in observance. However, Pugin suggests that after the political ends of schism had been realised, there came the means of attaching a real, doctrinal importance to the change and reforming many of the past excesses and malpractices of the Catholic hierarchy. This is where his text moves on to new ground, new opinions, in this particular area. These reforms, he maintains, came initially as a great shock to the humble people who had always been cushioned from the extravagances of Catholicism which had brought it into such disrepute throughout Europe.

Some space is then devoted (v. leaves 52, 51) to the political manoeuvrings which accompanied the rise of Protestantism, the dubious accomplishments of Henry VIII; of these Pugin is scornful, though because of their opportunism, not their Protestant nature. Speaking of the dissolution of abbeys, Pugin comments,

Now in this there was nothing very shocking; the same thing had been done by the Pope's legate and by his authority but a few years previously. (leaf 51, MS)

Having discussed further the processes by which the Reformation took place, the dissolution of monasteries, etc., Pugin comments:

Indeed, such is the contemptible state into which the old churchmen had fallen, that some of the so-called reformers almost

shine by their sides.(leaf 46-45,MS)

Further examples of corruption are then given, such as the practice among the clergy of keeping wives in secret; the point is made that the Reformation acted genuinely to dispel a great deal of disaffection with the Church and to re-establish holiness. But, though he shows a willingness to see some good in Protestantism, Pugin does not come out wholeheartedly in its favour. Referring to the difference in attitude that the anglicanisation of the forms of service brought about he comments:

To imagine that Christ died for a small portion of one quarter of the globe which he created (word unclear; may be 'visited') is too preposterous to be endured and yet I must say Englishmen have held, and do indeed hold (ie. 'beliefs' - word unclear) which would lead one to infer that their country is a sort of ark in the deluge, the only spot receiving gospel light. Now although in temporal matters I believe England to be the most forward spot in the universe, though I would not on any consideration that its sons should feel one.... (three words illegible).of anxiety or less honest faith in its ambitions, still anything appertaining too exclusively in religion is opposed to the great scheme of the Redemption of the world, and is utterly unworthy of an enlightened nation to entertain. (leaf 42, MS)

The account which follows this, of the reigns subsequent to Henry VIII, in many ways parallels that contained in the Earnest Address (v. 1851 edn., pp. 6-10). The chief purpose of Pugin's comments is to demonstrate the unsettled state of religion during the reigns of Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth I; he paints a picture of an age when royal decree conflicted with national religious feeling and no resolved system of religion was allowed to establish itself. The religious initiative rested with the monarch and the result was confusion for a populace which did not desire change. A description of the destruction, then re-erection, of church furniture (v. MS, leaf 38-7) demonstrates the

prevailing mood. The main enemy in these days, in Pugin's view, was clearly not Protestantism, but rather an irresolute Erastianism; the Reformation provided a possibility for improvement and reform which, Pugin saw, had not been utilised to any real effect up to the reign of Elizabeth. Catholicism, Pugin admits, had failed to keep its house in order; but, so far, Protestantism had failed to bring about any great changes.

The draft MS with which I have been dealing does not, unfortunately, include any conclusions; but the tenor of its statements is, if read in conjunction with an awareness of the contents of Pugin's other publications, sufficiently clear. As I have argued elsewhere, Pugin's historical writing had always revolved around an implicitly propagandist aim - the forwarding of the Catholic revival in England. As he developed, this feature became less noticeable, until in the Earnest Address we have a piece of historical writing containing coherent, explicit criticism of Catholic practice in certain fields. The MS text is, in this respect, far ahead of any of his other writings. What the effect would have been, if Pugin had completed and published this text in its full implication of rapprochement with the Church of England, must be pure speculation. It is possible, of course, that the less critical stance taken in the Earnest Address, compared with the earlier MS text, was the result of Pugin's own reassessment of the views he had begun to propound. I think this unlikely, however; for, as I have earlier commented, his answer to Wiseman's letter (v. 3rd. edn., Earnest Address, 1875, pp. 45-8) was not the response of a repentant or guilty man, in his own eyes. Politically, such a publication would have been unwise; as a tactic, regardless of what external end Pugin might have hoped for from it, it would have been too extreme for the touchy conditions of these years. But this, however interesting, is

a consideration which should be deferred until the subject matter of the remainder of this chapter has been introduced. Here we need only this short reminder: Pugin's didacticism only extended to events and opinions he believed to be true and valid, and it contained no guile. His method and intention in 1850 was exactly the same as it had been in 1835 - a headlong statement of, and attack on, what he believed to be wrong. Since he saw fit to write this MS text, the ideas it contained had certainly been uppermost in his thoughts. Of that there can be no doubt.

The Progress of Catholicism in England in the last years of Pugin's life:

Recapitulating briefly on the role played by Pugin in the Catholic revivalist movement in the eighteen thirties and forties, one might say this: he represented the pure idealism behind the movement and, as far as was possible, he lived out that idealism, based on the historical forms of Catholicism. Having a somewhat naive faith in the ultimate success of the movement, particularly in regard to the Catholicisation of the whole of England, he contributed a remarkable and unflagging enthusiasm towards achieving his hopes. But though Pugin held to this role for many years, the revival movement was slowly changing shape around him. By 1841 the seeds of this change could be discerned; by 1845 they were evident; by the end of the decade Puginism was a thing of the past. But to round off this picture, as it has been built up in the preceding chapters of this thesis, one needs to look a little more closely at the position Catholicism had reached in England, as the second half of the nineteenth century commenced. It is apposite to consider this in conjunction with Pugin's last, unfinished work.

It has been shown how the missionary side of the Catholic revival in England was closely connected with the Puginist movement, both practically through the part played by Shrewsbury and Ambrose Phillipps and spiritually in the common enthusiasm for the complete conversion of England to Catholicism. The two key figures here were Father Dominic of the Passionists and Father Gentili of the Rosminians. Before 1850 both were prematurely dead; having seen new communities set up at Hampstead (1848) and at St. Helens, Lancashire (1849) and a new church built at Aston (1849), Father Dominic died in 1849. True, he was succeeded by the Rev. George Spencer, who with his old friend Ambrose Phillipps had co-founded the movement for Prayers for the Conversion of England a decade earlier, and who had joined the Passionists in 1846; but nonetheless, his death marked the end of an era. A little earlier, in 1848, Father Gentili had died, aged only 50 but exhausted by a long and uphill struggle which, like Pugin, he must have felt that he was steadily losing. In the early forties the bodies which these two men led had stood for much that was dynamic, adventurous and ambitious in the Catholic programme in England. But the movement of the late forties seems to have been the very different Oratorianism. In 1847 Newman came back to England from Rome, now an ordained priest of the Congregation of the Oratory of St. Philip; he came to establish a House in England and in February 1848, at Maryvale, Birmingham, this was achieved. The telling point here, in the story of the decline of Puginism, lies in what happened to the small Wilfridian Community which had been set up by Father Faber. This community was housed near Lord Shrewsbury's seat at Alton Towers, in a building called Cotton Hall provided by Shrewsbury. But on Newman's return Father Faber applied for permission to join Newman; this permission was granted by Bishop Wiseman, but bitter protests came from Lord Shrewsbury and Ambrose Phillipps.

The situation was smoothed over when a community of Passionists moved into Cotton Hall, but these events were symptomatic of wider, and less easily soluble, problems. Lord Shrewsbury and Phillipps were no longer major contributors to the Catholic cause. Pugin was not in sympathy with Newman and the Oratorian movement, and a tense situation existed here. In Newman's Letters (ed. Dessain, vol. XII) are letters referring to a quarrel between Pugin and Phillipps, and Father Faber (v. letters of 3rd. June and 15th. June, 1848, between Newman and Phillipps); Newman mediated, but was clearly hard-pushed to feel sympathy for the Puginist point of view. In 1849 Pugin refused to attend the consecration of his church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, at Fulham, because the patron, Mrs. Bowden, had refused to have a screen in the church; Newman preached at the service *. The increasing prominence of the Jesuits in London provides a further sign of a new state of affairs; in 1844 they had begun to establish a church at Farm Street, but this was not completed and operational until 1849 and even then had no parochial function. Bishop Griffiths seems to have been largely responsible for this lack of progress, but with his death in 1847 and Wiseman's election as Pro-Vicar Apostolic, the Jesuit task became easier. In 1849 Bishop Walsh, Pugin's long-standing friend and sympathiser, died, after a period of several years in which his powers had been waning. As mentioned above, the death of Bishop Griffiths in 1847 left Bishop Wiseman elevated to the post of Pro-Vicar Apostolic of the London District. This temporary appointment may well have implied that a definite plan existed to make him the first Archbishop of England, as part of a new English hierarchy. Certainly Wiseman immediately launched into a new series of diplomatic moves aimed at re-establishment of the hierarchy. In 1847 Lord Minto, Lord Privy Seal in Russell's government, travelled to Italy with a commission to handle various affairs; one of which was to see the Pope, to discuss the re-establishing of diplomatic

* v. Meriol Trevor, Newman (Macmillan, 1962), vol. 1, p. 435.

relations. Wiseman was behind the proposal that Minto should call in at the Vatican. In 1848 Lord Lansdowne's Diplomatic Relations Bill was introduced. This was aimed at furthering political relations with the Vatican, though the issue of spiritual relations was deliberately kept in a very low key. In August 1848 Lansdowne's Bill received the Royal Assent, though not before it had caused considerable dissension among the British Catholics. The Editor of the Tablet, Frederick Lucas, summoned the famous meeting at the Freemasons' Hall, where masses of the Catholic laity expressed strong disapprobation of the possible effect in Ireland of Lansdowne's proposals. Wiseman's pamphlet, Words of Peace and Justice Addressed to the Catholic Clergy and Laity of the London District, served to redress the balance and win back to him a good deal of support. As essential background to this it must be remembered that, as early as November 11th. 1847, the English Catholic Bishops had met at Golden Square in London, the home of the Vicar of the London District, and settled many of the details of the restoration of an English hierarchy. Following on from this Bishop Ullathorne had visited Rome, arriving there in May 1848, and by June a complete scheme had been worked out and approved in principle. This resembled closely the scheme that was finally initiated, but the now ineffectual Bishop Walsh was proposed by Rome as the first Archbishop. Revolution put an end, however, to these promising negotiations. The final moves in the struggle for a new hierarchy came when in 1850, having already been made permanent Vicar Apostolic of the London District (in 1849), Wiseman was created a Cardinal and moved to Rome. Almost instantly, however, he was returning to England as first Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and head of the English Catholic Church. On September 29th. 1850 the Pope issued Letters Apostolic providing for one Archbishop and twelve Bishops to replace the eight Vicars Apostolic.

How does one relate this series of events to the last years of Pugin's life ? If one were to attempt to sum up the spirit of the procedures leading to the new hierarchy, one would think of such terms as 'diplomacy' and 'professionalism'. Bishop Wiseman's administration, in particular, was an efficient and high-powered one, if not always popular with fellow-Catholics. This was in strong contrast to the parochial politics, the internecine quarrels of the eighteen-thirties when the Vicars Apostolic had, as we have seen, often been at loggerheads. In this sense the Catholic establishment had markedly matured over the space of less than two decades, thanks largely to the powers of Bishop Wiseman. As ever, the growth in professionalism led to the rejection of amateur assistance; and in a very real sense, Pugin, Lord Shrewsbury and Ambrose Phillipps were amateurs. They were impelled by enthusiasm and principle; they lacked a practical policy, relying very much on hand-to-mouth methods, particularly as regards the provision of finances for their highly ambitious projects. One is profoundly impressed by the force of their idealism and faith, just as one is with contemporaries such as Father Dominic, Father Gentili and Bishop Walsh. But these very qualities which gave them their appeal, made their actual role by 1850 a minimal one. Considerable power was still theirs, but it was by and large only the power of making an appeal to the public. Thus it was that Wiseman feared the content of Pugin's Earnest Address, and of the unfinished work he was writing at the time of his death. But whereas in 1840 the power of Pugin and his supporters had been the power to sway the course of events, by 1850 it was reduced to the power of being a thorn in the flesh. Pugin certainly realised his change of status within the Catholic party, and was pained by it; but his idealism and determination to carry through his cause seems to have continued unabated though his views, as we have seen, changed considerably in his

last years of life.

Conclusion:

The anomaly of Pugin's last years is that, although losing ground and influence in all fields, he was producing both in his design and in his historical, scholastic work, new and interesting ideas and viewpoints. The design side having been dealt with in an earlier chapter, we are concerned here with Pugin's scholarship shortly before his death. Clear evidence exists of a last work, following on from the Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy (1851) and to be entitled on the lines of An Apology for the Separated Church of England. The draft MS which was almost certainly written in mid- or late-1850 bears some resemblance to the Earnest Address, but contains the seeds of ideas far more radical than any put forward in that work and possibly written as the basis of the last, unfinished work. The Earnest Address, celebrating the reestablishment in September 1850 of an English Catholic hierarchy, was produced by Pugin in something of a hurry and contains, though in ill-digested form, some of the material Pugin had been intending for his new historical work. The Great Exhibition and recurrent illness kept him from ever completing this projected work, and this draft MS now seems to be the only extant document giving us information on what the gist of the unfinished work might have been. For this reason alone it is most valuable and interesting; it endorses, in historical terms, the theory that Pugin's attitude towards the Anglican Church softened dramatically at the end of his life, and his wish to criticise the Roman Catholic establishment in England increased equally dramatically. For there can be no doubt in this instance that the historical criticism of which we have evidence reflected a

dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs. Not that Pugin ever ceased to be a devout Catholic; concrete evidence would be needed before such a claim could be made and, though there are rumours concerning his conversion to Anglicanism in the last days of life, these lack foundation. He questioned, not the tenets of his faith, but its policies and managements in the mid-nineteenth century.

Drastic change at the end of the eighteen-forties was not confined to Pugin himself; indeed, most of the movements and people associated with Puginism as a moving force seem to have suffered serious affliction then. Deaths, new policies and new movements took their toll of the former order of things in English Catholicism. The whole fabric that had been built up since 1835, incorporating Pugin and his views, his colleagues and like-minded enthusiasts, seems to have crumbled just before 1850. The establishment of the new hierarchy marks the new era which had begun, but it would be wrong to think that the hierarchy brought about the new order; the real changes took place between 1848 and 1850.

Literary Qualities and the Sense of the Dramatic in Pugin's Work -
an Essential Addendum.

In this final chapter it is my intention to step right away from the sort of issues I have been discussing and to consider Pugin as a prose writer of some achievement. To dwell on Pugin's theories of art and his statements as a Catholic and serious historian without examining his powers as a writer seems to create an imbalance which it is the aim of this chapter to correct.

The strong emotive appeal that the committed writer can make to his audience always played a large part in Pugin's writings. It has been argued earlier in the thesis that the Letter to A.W.Hakewill which Pugin had privately published in 1835 at Salisbury was a fine specimen of Pugin's prose; I speculated that his youth and nervousness instilled him with a sense of restraint that he later lost, and that this gave a real distinction to his prose style. In reply to Hakewill's 'contemptuous epithets' on Gothic architecture, Pugin produces a eulogy of his own:

.....which, allow me to say, will ever remain the pride and glory of the epochs in which they were erected; and, when brought in fair comparison with any other style, must, in the mind of every impartial judge, shine with complete superiority, - the grandeur of their masses - the exquisite finish of their details - their bold and scientific construction - the light, and at the same time solid, manner in which they are erected, - all must contribute to fill the mind of the beholder with admiration, and a profound veneration for the skill and perseverance of the ages in which they were produced. (A Letter to Hakewill, pp.6-7)

This type of manifestation of the fervour and pride of his commitment to Catholicism can be found at any stage of Pugin's life. As close to the end of Pugin's career as the Letter to Hakewill is to its

beginning we find the following:

What can be more perfect, what more edifying and consoling than that Divine Office, the compilation of so many saints and glorious men, and which is so wonderful in the perfection of its system and composition, that the more it is studied, the more it gains on our reverence and love ! What appropriate fitness in all the antiphons - what noble simplicity in the hymns ! While the chaunt of the Psalter has an almost sacramental power in calming a troubled spirit and leading the soul to God; these were the divine chaunts that penetrated the heart of Saint Augustine, and though many centuries have elapsed, they have not lost one fraction of their influence. (An Earnest Appeal for the Revival of the Ancient Plain-Song, 1850, pp.16-17)

These two short examples, taken from among many, demonstrate the habit Pugin had of argument mingled with imaginative appeal, expressed in powerful and commanding language.

It is a little too vague, to speak simply of emotional or imaginative appeals; instead, I propose to examine Pugin's use of the dramatic in his writing. Such a choice of subject is not surprising when one remembers that he had a strong, early interest in the theatre and played an active role, as a stage designer, in many theatrical productions; clearly something in his character impelled him towards such things. In the notebook, 'Notes towards an Autobiography', dealing * with his life in the eighteen-twenties, Pugin gives evidence of this interest. Dating from January 14th. 1822, he keeps a record which includes details of performances at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane (which he abbreviates to TRDL) and the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden (TRCG); a brief comment on the success of each production is given. In 1825 he

* Referred to earlier in the thesis; now at the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, press no. 86 MM 13. Almost certainly this is a retrospective account written in 1831, though very possibly a copying up from earlier entries in a diary.

records the opening of the Haymarket Theatre, and in 1827 that of the Theatre Royal, English Opera. Under June 26th. 1827, as part of a connected account, he enters:

While at Mr. Morel's* I became acquainted with a person called George Dayes, son of the celebrated artist of that name who put a period to his own existence by hanging himself. In consequence his family had since been much reduced, and thus the only son was obliged to gain his living by different sorts of work. He was for some time attached to Covent Garden Theatre and it was through him that I first imbibed the taste for stage machinery and scenic representations to which I afterwards applied myself so closely. (op.cit.)

The culmination of this theatrical interest is represented by the entry for 19th. May 1831:

Began to work on a private theatre for the Marquis of Stafford recommended by Mr. Grieve.**...

May 27th. 1831; at 8 o'clock in the evening after a week of the greatest exertion, completed the theatre.....the audience consisted of the first people in the country. The performance did not terminate till one o'clock in the morning. (op.cit.)

Most of the plays with which, Pugin records, he was concerned were of a popular kind - dramatisations, for instance, of Sir Walter Scott's novels such as Peveril of the Peak and the White Maid of Avenel, both of which he names -. It would be safe to assume that the growth of scholastic interests in the early eighteen-thirties accompanied a decline in Pugin's direct involvement with such theatrical interests; possibly the older Pugin would have looked back on them with distaste.

* Morel's was a firm for which Pugin did design work when very young, notably his furniture designs for Windsor Castle.

** Thomas Grieve was applied to by the young Pugin for employment - v. Grieve's letter of 20th. August 1867 to Edward Pugin, reprinted in Who Was the Art-Architect of the Houses of Parliament (by E. Pugin, 1867, v.p.9)

They do, however, represent the satisfying of a characteristic need for Pugin, the need for drama and for show in his life. The ritual of Catholicism is clearly linked with this need, and what I have spoken of as the dramatic quality in Pugin's writings also springs from it.

The drama of religion is first conveyed in The Shrine, the MS work of 1832 which I have already noticed, in a visual form. In writing, the sense of drama is well displayed in Contrasts:

Not long since I saw a dagger of the sixteenth century, which had been undoubtedly used for assassinations, the blade being priced for blood by successive scores, increasing the remuneration in proportion to the depth that the steel was plunged in the body of the victim. Now the handle of this murderous instrument (the very sight of which must fill every Christian mind with horror) was surmounted by an ivory image of the blessed Virgin with our Lord, while Diana and Actaeon were sculptured beneath!!! And many more instances could I readily adduce to show the utter loss of Catholic art and feelings at this memorable period.
(Contrasts, 2nd. edition only, Ch. 2, p. 13)

This passage is a fine example to demonstrate my point; it is a deliberate attempt to clarify the message, that 'Catholic feeling' was in decay, by creating a violent image, the image of murder, in close association with this loss of feeling. It shows the instinct of a man who knows that the attention of the audience must be held and their involvement and sympathies called into play; also that the melodramatic gesture can be one of the most powerful ways of achieving this. A more usual procedure is to effect the dramatic appeal by means of a personalisation, often of the sufferings that were involved in adhering to the old faith at times of persecution:

So suddenly had all this been brought to pass, that many buildings were hurled down, ere the cement, with which they were erected, had hardened with time; and many a mason, by the unwearied strokes of whose chisel some beautiful form had been wrought, lived to

see the results of his labours mutilated, by the axes of the destroyer.

The effect of such scenes as these, on the minds of those clergy who still remained in cathedral and other churches, may easily be conceived. Apprehensive of a similar fate to that which had fallen on their monastic brethren, they remained paralysed; and no further efforts were made at beautifying those edifices, which they so soon expected would be plundered; and they waited, in dreadful suspense, the next step which the sacrilegious tyrant would take, when either his avarice or his necessities should lead him to it. (Contrasts, Ch. 3, p. 24)

The individual fears of the clergy, the bitterness the craftsmen must have felt at seeing their work destroyed, these are the two features of the situation evoked in this paragraph. This portrayal of the destructions of the Reformation, not in grand terms of the loss of the old faith, but in terms of individual loss, is a dramatisation of events. Sometimes, when Pugin handles it too freely, this device degenerates into mere atmospherics, into bathos, as in the following account of a religious festival:

How splendid also are the solemn processions that commemorate the great events of Sacred Writ ! How majestic are the ceremonies of Palm Sunday, when the great Western doors are thrown open to receive the clergy, singing the anthem, 'Be ye lifted up ye everlasting gates, and the King of Glory shall enter in,' while, as the procession moves up the nave, the loud chaunt of 'Hosanna in excelsis, benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini,' carries away the mind of the pious Christian to the welcome hymn that saluted our divine Redeemer, on his triumphant entrance into Jerusalem ! (An Apology for a Work Entitled Contrasts, 1837, p. 17)

The dramatic effect is strong when a particular facet of the history of Catholicism can be painted in human terms. In such a situation - the clergy waiting for their fate, the mason seeing the beauties of many years' work destroyed - Pugin can use language to paint this

picture strongly. If, however, he attempts this process on too general a theme, it does not work. Thus in the above extract from the Apology for Contrasts Pugin attempts to speak of the glorifying effect of medieval Catholic ritual on people; but his sweeps of emotion are too broad, his people too little individualised, and the appeal of the prose becomes swamped in fulsome evocation of feeling. Sentimentalism takes over from sympathy, and the effect is lost in bathos.

Pugin and the Short-Story Formula:

On occasions Pugin takes this trend of which I have been speaking, of dramatising at the personal level, to its logical conclusion and tells a story about real people, real individuals. His efforts in this direction are among the most successful, and also undervalued, of all his prose. Two particular examples demand attention here; the first is from the third of the early lectures delivered by Pugin at Oscott, and published in the Catholic Magazine*; the second, coming from the last part of Pugin's life, is from the section on types of Ambonoclast, included in the Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts.**

The Oscott lecture story is brief; it tells the story, in words, that Pugin has seen related in a stained glass window in the apse of Rouen Cathedral, which 'represents the whole legend of St. Julian the hospitaller, patron of the boatmen and fisherman of Rouen' (v.p.23).

* v. Catholic Magazine, New Series, vol. III, 1839, pp. 23-6, part of the third lecture on Ecclesiastical Architecture.

** v. A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, London, Dolman, 1851, 'The Pagan Ambonoclast', pp. 81-91, and 'The Revolutionary Ambonoclast', pp. 92-97.

While out hunting a rich youth hears a prophecy that he will kill his own parents:

This saint, born of noble and rich parents, in his youth an ardent lover of the chase, while closely pursuing a stag, suddenly heard a voice, as if proceeding from the flying animal, which exclaimed; 'Why dost thou pursue me to destruction, wretched man, who wilt kill those that gave thee birth?' Struck with horror at these appalling sounds, and with the hope of avoiding the accomplishment of so horrible a prophecy, Julian instantly fled. (op.cit.p.23)

In a 'far country', Julian found success, responsibility, prestige and a wife; his parents, however, grieve his unexplained departure and set out to seek him. Arriving by chance at his castle while he is absent, they are met hospitably by his wife; their identity and object is discovered and, overcome with joy, the wife shows them the utmost hospitality in accommodating them in her own chamber;

Julian, returning unexpectedly before day-break, ascends to his chamber, when, by the feeble glimmer of the expiring lamp, he beholds the indistinct forms of two persons on his couch. Believing his honour betrayed, transported with fury, rash and impetuous, he, with one blow of his sword, consigns the unhappy tenants of his bed to instant death; and overpowered by his feelings, rushes from the chamber and flies his castle. Hardly beyond the gates, the first object that appears before him, is the form of his faithful wife, just returning from offering up her devout thanks for the arrival of Julian's parents. The eager haste with which she advances to communicate to her husband the joyous intelligence, and the petrified astonishment with which he beholds her, are admirably depicted by the ancient artist. (op.cit.p.24)

He immediately resolves on a life of 'the severest austerities and penance', and his faithful wife resolves to accompany him. They seek the life of hermits, and establish a small chapel on the bank of a dangerous stretch of river, where Julian becomes ferryman and between

them, over the years, they give aid to many travellers and pilgrims. One stormy winter's night Julian dives into the river to help a drowning man:

His noble efforts were crowned with success, and he returned in safety with a miserable object, whose deformed and loathsome appearance would have filled any but the saint with horror and disgust: but he, devoted to the relief of sufferers, beheld in the hideous being before him only a fresh occasion for the exercise of those arduous duties to which he had devoted himself. He placed the miserable sufferer on his pallet, imparting warmth to his half-frozen limbs, - when, oh wonderful prodigy ! the figure of the stranger, glowing with celestial light, presented to the eyes of the astonished and holy pair, the image of their divine Saviour. They are seen in the glass prostrate before a radiant figure of our Redeemer, who, while blessing them, with extended hand, pronounces the consoling intelligence of their pardon and deliverance. The souls of the saintly ferryman and his faithful spouse are seen in the apex of this lofty window, borne by angels to the legions of the blessed; while travellers, bending round their cold remains, bewail the loss of these long-tried benefactors. (op.cit.p.25)

We should bear in mind that this story was introduced by Pugin into a lecture; a lecture intended for the young students of Oscott, Catholic youths aiming at the priesthood or otherwise deeply involved with their religion. The attempt to dramatise the medieval art he is describing is therefore an understandable and laudable one. The story he chooses to tell has a classical purity and inevitability about it; it is a joyous and optimistic tale, telling how faith, determination, humility and chastity will triumph over adversity. In this, we might say that it represents the state of Pugin's own thinking about his religion at this early stage of his career.

Fourteen years later, Pugin presents us with the story of the Commendatory Abbot of Conques, Louis de Chantal, and the revolutionary

Jaques Frenin*. This would not command a place among the great short stories of the nineteenth century, but it has real qualities of imagination and expression to recommend it, quite apart from its significance in the account of Pugin's last years. The story of the Abbot of Conques, the 'Pagan Ambonoclast', appears on pages 81-91 of the Treatise on Chancel Screens. The first meeting of the Abbot and Frenin is recorded, when the Abbot is 'renovating' his ancient and beautiful abbey church, replacing its Gothic features with the currently fashionable (this part of the story takes place about 1775) Italianate style. Frenin is part of the demolition team:

Impatient to begin his improvements, the abbé procured some workmen to commence the demolition before his return to Paris. Among those who presented themselves was a young man of great athletic powers, but of a sinister and scornful countenance, and who appeared to proceed in the task of destruction with singular alacrity and energy. Several men with ropes and ladders had now ascended the upper part of the rood, while the young man before mentioned stood at the foot, and alternately applied a crow and axe to cut away the mortice in which the base rested and prise it out. Before the men above had the ropes properly fast to lower all, by a tremendous effort he forced the foot from its socket, and the cross, inclining to the Gospel side, fell over, carrying away the image of the Blessed Virgin in descent, and the whole mass lay broken on the pavement. The movement was so sudden that it startled the abbé, who was standing near the man, and a feeling of dread seemed to appal the other workmen as they gazed on the fallen rood, but the face of the youth was flushed with ill-concealed exultation, which the abbé remarked,

* A notebook of Pugin's, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, press no. 86 MM 48, contains a draft version of these two stories, quite closely resembling the published versions but rather shorter. This is the same notebook that contains what I believe to be drafts for Pugin's final, unfinished work, commented on in my previous chapter.

and attributed at the time to his successful display of strength; but it came from a far deeper feeling, as he afterwards discerned to his own destruction. (op.cit. pp. 86-7)

Père Duchesne, the priest of the old parish church nearby, deplores to the abbé the alterations he has made to the venerable old fabric of the abbey, but the abbot is unimpressed. He retires to his Hotel at Paris. In fifteen years time, in the thick of the French Revolution, abbot and youth meet again:

In a short time they arrived at a small open space; some straw was scattered on the pavement, and by the side of a common butcher's block, hastily brought to the spot, stood a man of enormous muscular strength and lofty stature, a shirt loosely bound round his waist and a pair of sabots completed his attire, while he wielded a huge chopper or axe, in savage impatience for his victim. The abbé cast a terrified look at this popular executioner, and seemed indistinctly to recollect his ferocious features. 'Oh, Jesu, Jesu', he shrieked, in agony of soul, when the furious infidel, bending towards him, in a voice of savage irony exclaimed, 'Il n'y est plus, Monsieur l'Abbé; nous l'avons démonté à Conques, ha! ha!' - the executioner and the youth who cut away the rood were the same -. In a few moments a badly severed head and a bleeding corpse were tossed to and fro amid the frantic mob, and exposed to every indignity, till a common cart removed them and bore them to an unhallowed grave, and no cross ever marked the spot which held the mutilated remains of the last commendatory abbot of Conques, the Pagan ambonoclast. (op.cit., p. 91)

However the wheel of Fate does not stop turning here; in the tale of the Revolutionary Ambonoclast we see Jaques Frenin, retired, when the Revolution is over. He returns to the village of Père Duchesne and buys, as a wood store, that priest's parish church, now disused. The rood-screen remains, and it prevents full utilisation of the storage space, so Frenin purposes its removal by the way he knows, from experience, to work best ! '...cutting away the bases of the

shafts, and propping them up with pieces of timber, smeared with pitch, which, when fired, were rapidly consumed, and caused the instant fall of the superincumbent weight.....'. Owing to the particular arrangement of this church and a mishap with the key to his exit door, Frenin finds himself trapped and rescue arrives too late:

On entering, the most horrible spectacle presented itself. The pillars and arches of the rood screen encircled in fire, and in the midst of smoke and blaze the gigantic figure of a man whose hair and clothes were already burning, yelling imprecations; in the agony of despair he grasped the bars with fruitless efforts to tear them from their faithful rivets. 'Ah, mon Dieu, c'est Frenin', exclaimed the terrified villagers. 'Il est perdu', cried another voice, and at that instant the wooden shores, reduced to gleaming embers, gave way, and arches, vaulting, all fell in crushing weight on the wretched ambonoclast, who was speedily consumed beneath the burning mass. Water was now procured, and by the ready help of the numerous villagers who had been gathered to the spot, all danger to the fabric itself was soon prevented; but when the smoking ruins had been cleared away, a few ashes were all that remained of the powerful frame of Jacques Frenin, the revolutionary ambonoclast. (op.cit.p.95)

It remained only for Père Duchesne, who still lived in the village and who had, it transpired, been a witness to the events of the death of the abbot, to explain the events to his flock. The story ends with the restoration of Christianity as a lawful religion by the post-Revolution government of France.

In the sense to which I have referred above, the process of this story is a dramatisation of a series of events based on historical fact*.

* By this I do not imply that it is a true story; I have no evidence one way or the other as to its detailed factual truth. My suspicion would be that it is based on a story Pugin heard while travelling in France, which he has ordered and elaborated to suit himself.

This tale differs from others, however, in that it is extended in length and forms a complete, self-contained narrative; what is more, it is very deliberately structured. It has very much the mark of the formal morality story, with its contrived framework and undisguised, almost allegorical intent; true, it deals only with ambonoclasm, the narrow field of the throwing down of rood-screens; but then, for Pugin the dispute over screens had been the spear-head of his whole reform campaign in the late forties. If he had succeeded in this, then he would have triumphed against the ordered establishment of the Catholic church in England. Conversely, failure in this area meant the eventual minimising of his whole influence. Surely it is not only by chance that the framework of this story follows that of the fortunes of the Catholic church as Pugin saw them: brought down by an ill-motivated savagery at the Reformation but not before the churchmen, like the Abbot of Conques, had shown themselves unable to appreciate the worth of what they controlled; then the reformed church, like Frenin, emerges from its period of blood-letting and becomes a type for established respectability, even if the wood-sheds it buys up for its own business stand in the gutted shells of the old religion. But as soon as fate and chance combine, under the hand of God, to topple the authority of this new body, the faithful adherents of the old faith are still standing by to restore the true religion. The hopeful end of his struggle, like that of his tale, is clear to Pugin:

The rood is now safe from further profanation. The traces of Frenin's destruction will be shortly effaced by a perfect restoration; but the frightful end of the ambonoclasts of Conques will long form the subject of discourse among the inhabitants of the village. (op.cit.p.97)

What separates this story from other specimens of dramatic qualities in Pugin's prose is that it is sustained without benefit of the factual or historic framework openly expressed. True, there is historic

justification as well as personal (his own father having so nearly been a victim of the Revolution) for his choice of subject. More important than either, however, is the symbolic signification which overrides, as I hope I have shown, the historical. But Pugin does not adopt the polemic story-teller's role with complete ease; when not writing of facts and buildings a certain stiffness, unsuited to the subject matter, shows up in his prose. Partly this stems from a restricted use of vocabulary:

A dense mass of wood covered the opposite hill with a deep green, while the warm tints of a westerning sun relieved each turret and pinnacle in a glowing hue on the verdant background.
(op.cit.p.83)

'Dense', 'deep', 'westerning', 'glowing', 'verdant' - the beauty which Pugin sees in the scene begins to come across, but is held back by this succession of undistinguished adjectives. One or two singular, striking words, or outstanding conceptions of the beauty evinced through the use of a more subtle choice of vocabulary, would have rendered a merely competent description remarkable. But they are not forthcoming here; nor are they in the rest of the story, so we are left with a feeling of disappointment in the language, in the detailed use of words. There is too much of technicality; need we be told that the cross, 'inclining to the Gospel side, fell over' ? If there is a symbolic point to the direction of the fall, it is hard to spot; if not, then the pomposity of introducing the phrase overbalances the sentence and causes the reader to stop and think where he should not do so. Such a criticism as this, and the former, apply to much of Pugin's prose; but within the short-story framework under discussion here, they seem to matter more. However, though I criticise in these terms, it is highly significant that I should be led to do so. This story does encourage the reader to treat its author, not as designer

turned writer, not with condescension, but with respect. One can read this story for its narrative power without noticing its instructional overtones. The particular powers Pugin uses here have all been shown earlier, as have all the faults; but here, for the first time, he gives his imaginative talent full rein. We see new possibilities for Pugin as an imaginative writer committed to the service of religion. Unfortunately, his death precluded any chance of watching these new talents develop.

Pugin as Satirist:

Was Pugin a satirist? If so, was he a successful one? Did his satire appear both in his illustrative and literary work? Whatever detailed definition one may decide on, satire is nothing in execution if it does not show the practice of a ready and nimble wit; if a heavy hand is used, the tool is blunted and cannot then rise above a heavy mode, often ironic, but lifeless. We must bear these thoughts in mind when we consider Pugin as satirist.

John Hardman Powell said of his father-in-law:

He was passionate but believed his anger was always another's fault, honest rages with no malice in them, blowing over without leaving resentment. (Pugin in His Home, MS, 1889)

But this, while saying much to clarify Pugin's own temperament, goes nowhere towards explaining the nature, and the results of his angers, as they appeared in print all through his career. Pugin's reputation for a lively handling of controversy began with Contrasts in 1836; much of the attacking force of this, and of the 1841 edition, came from the illustrative plates; the remainder was transmitted through the text. Since one cannot separate the satirical effort of Pugin the illustrator from that of Pugin the writer, it will be profitable to

examine Contrasts in terms of the satire, both visual and literary, that it attempts.

Three illustrations appear in the volume of Contrasts, before the text begins. These are selected from a series of seven possible drawings made for this purpose, and still extant *. They comprise a Gothic title-piece (no.3) below) which is intended by Pugin simply to be a beautiful piece of design, rich in detail, elaborate in effect and engraved with deep shadow-effects to give an air of dignity and solemnity; secondly, a neo-classical piece (no.5) below) which is much less richly textured with shadow; though clearly meant to convey some attitude of dislike for the style it portrays, by virtue of its agglomerated nature, there is no overt or specific attempt at satire in this drawing. The third illustration is drawn in much starker style; there are no gradations of light and shade, and it is covered with pseudo-adverts for all kinds of mass-produced ornament and detail, and 'instant' architectural style. There is no suggestion of 'contrast' here; the intention, quite clearly, is to debase and ridicule the stylistic free-for-all of the day and its practitioners (no.7) below).

* A volume containing drawings for all Contrasts plates and frontispieces, 1st. edition, with no text. Signed by Jane Pugin and Edward Pugin, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, press no.86 MM 23. The frontispiece illustrations are: 1) a 'libra excellentiae' design set in a Gothic frame; 2) a drawing showing the same frame as 1), but with the scales replaced by a title legend in red lettering; 3) a print of the same, but with black lettering; 4) another print, with red title-lettering; 5) a drawing in neo-classical style with legend; 6) a drawing, half-neo-classical, half-Gothic; 7) a complete drawing, similar to the neo-classical half of 6). Numbers 3), 5), and 7) were the illustrations used in the published version of Contrasts.

We read such 'advertisements' as: 'Designs wanted, a Moorish fish market with a literary room over; an Egyptian Marine villa; a castellated turnpike gate; a Gin-temple in the baronial style; a Dissenting chapel in a plain style, to serve occasionally for a lecture or reading room; a monument to be placed in Westminster Abbey, a colossal figure in the Hindoo style would be preferred and no regard need be paid to locality; a Saxon cigar-divan'. Of these three illustrations, the former two are placed on opposite pages so one is clearly intended to juxtapose with the other, indicating the contrast of styles and the superior dignity, beauty and unity of the Gothic style. The latter stands alone, without contrast either in its subject matter or the style of its execution. One can conclude from this that Pugin has admitted two styles of drawing to his illustrative work in Contrasts. The first is a straightforward comparative method, juxtaposing medieval and neo-classical interpretations (perhaps one should include here, eighteenth-century Gothic) of similar themes. Usually in this style of work Pugin selects the designs he uses, but they are not his own work (this distinction is more true of the plates for Contrasts than for the title-plates I have discussed). His role, therefore, is limited to that of editor; it cannot be said that in the exercise of this role he was impartial, for he allowed excellent Gothic designs to stand against some mediocre neo-classicism. In the style of work represented by the third frontispiece, Pugin is by contrast being purely personal in his approach; he gives no justification for his selections, but aims simply to compromise by fair means and foul the reputation of all contemporary design fashions and styles, except for the purist Gothic revivalism which he represents. This reflects, not only in the topics chosen, but in a harsher and less attractive manner of etching, characteristically thin and lacking in solemnity and dignity.

Before going on to relate these points to the issue of satire, and particularly of satire in the literary form, it will be interesting to extend the present consideration to include differences between the first and second editions of Contrasts. The twelve plates of the 1836 edition are all based on contrasts between works selected by Pugin, none being his own inventions or designs. The style is consistent and he does not strive to labour the architectural distinctions he is making, by introducing significant differences of quality or kind in his etchings of the modern and the medieval. He uses his selective power, as I have said, to benefit the medieval; but otherwise lets the illustrations speak for themselves. There are two exceptions to this, but on examination both prove to be social and religious, not architectural, comments *. If we turn to consider the 1841 edition, we find a very

* The first exception is 'Contrasted Episcopal Residences'; a commentary accompanies the two illustrations so as to suggest that the present incumbent is a less studious man, more addicted to comfort and pleasure, than his medieval forbear; also that the destruction of the old Ely Palace was an act of wanton spoliation. The second concerns the 'Contrasted Public Conduits' and reveals a significant alteration. The modern conduit stands before a police station and is chained so that the small child standing by it cannot drink. The MS volume to which I have referred has two drawings of this conduit; the earlier shows a gentleman in a short coat, with a walking-stick; in the published version he is redrawn, with long coat and short truncheon, to represent a policeman. Pugin clearly decided that the stark notice pinned to the station wall, expounding civic services in a very unattractive manner, was not enough for his purpose. He adds the extra harshness that the man (who might, after all, have been a friendly stranger telling the lad where to find water) is replaced by a stern policeman who is all too obviously telling the lad to go to blazes, using his publicly given authority to abuse the basic human right of drinking where there is water. Both examples are, as I say, cases of religious or social comment, and bear no connection with the architecture concerned.

different story. One plate only is omitted, the undistinguished contrast of 'House Fronts'; there are two adequate reasons for this: Sir John Soane, whose house formed the 'modern' part of the plate, had died since 1836; thus the particular need to lampoon him had passed, and Pugin may have felt qualms on the grounds of decency; and the 'medieval' house, from the Rue de l'Horloge at Rouen, is so tudoresque, so late-medieval, as even to show a good deal of Renaissance detailing and ornament, on its upper storeys especially, and even on the frame Pugin set it within. Pugin's changed views since 1836 would no longer permit him to include such a building as genuinely medieval in 1841. Four new plates are introduced, and all lean in style towards the second of the two cases I outline above, that of number 7) of the frontispiece drawings. These four are as follows: a contrasted town, firstly in 1440, then in 1840, both images being Pugin's own conceptions; the old and the new western doorways of St. Mary Overies, Southwark, with the fine old carving shown strewn about for sale as rubble and sectional drawings to point the meagreness of the new design; contrasted Poorhouses, with marginal drawings to demonstrate the generosity and sanctity of the old, the ugliness and harshness of the new; lastly two sepulchral monuments are contrasted, the old having an air of peace and dignity, the new being gross and ludicrous, covered in graffiti and classical detail and commemorating the two marriages of the ridiculous looking Clutterbuck. It is clear that the target of all four of these new plates is not principally the architectural practices of the day, as it had been in the first Contrasts. Instead it is the people who put the architect to work, the patron class and their ideas and prejudices and fashions; this is equally true, whether those patrons be ecclesiastics, government officials or industrialists.

Contrasts, then, shows two clear styles of attack in its illustrations. . There is the simple, comparative style where the beholder is only subtly directed towards a preference for the medieval, Pugin's function as selector being hidden; and the more savage style where a clear point of attack, separate from architectural concerns, is stated. Generally the more outrageous and provoking attack, as evinced by the second of these styles, is limited to the 1841 edition, as I have tried to show. Both styles, of course, include the concept of the architect as a positive agent, either for improvement, or retrogression. If, in a chapter ostensibly devoted to literary topics, so much time has been spent discussing visual representations, this is only so because the methods of Pugin's attack, whether conducted through visual or literary means, should be compared. One must now ask whether the points made above are paralleled in the prose content of the works in question. On many occasions Pugin discusses the issue raised here, the comparative merit of medieval and contemporary forms. One thinks, for instance, of a passage introduced into the 1841 Contrasts. Here three forms of altar are compared - the true Catholic, the debased Catholic and the Protestant (v. Contrasts, 2nd. edition only, Ch. 2, pp. 14-15). There is both a visual presentation in the form of three plates representing each type of altar, and a literary in the form of a commentary picking out the salient points of each plate. Also he launches more general attacks on Protestant principles and practice, and eulogies on the ancient, Catholic religion and way of life. Sometimes these attacks are conducted with admirable restraint, as in the following passage where the nobler life of the middle ages is held up to the reader, that he may realise how wanting is his own, modern life:

Their whole energies were directed towards attaining excellence;

they were actuated by far nobler motives than the hopes of pecuniary reward, or even the applause and admiration of mankind. They felt they were engaged in one of the most glorious occupations that can fall to the lot of man - that of raising a temple to the worship of the true and living God.....

It was this feeling that induced the ecclesiastics of old to devote their revenues to this pious purpose, and to labour with their own hands in the accomplishment of the work; and it is a feeling that may be traced throughout the whole of the numerous edifices of the middle ages, and which, amidst the great variety of genius which their varied decorations display, still bespeaks the unity of purpose which influenced their builders and artists. They borrowed their ideas from no heathen rites, nor sought for decorations from the idolatrous emblems of a strange people.....(Contrasts, Ch.1, pp.5-6)

.....all revived Classic buildings, whether erected in Catholic or Protestant countries, are evidences of a lamentable departure from true Catholic principles and feelings (ibid.p.7)

These are examples of the more dignified of the two procedures I have described in visual terms; it is basically an open and honest effort to sway the reader. As has been said, though, Pugin is exercising a selective function quite energetically, so there is a strong propagandist element in this writing. The second procedure is also present, in literary form, in both issues of Contrasts:

Can we hope for any good results while such men as these use, or rather possess, these glorious piles? Men who either leave the churches to perish through neglect, or when they conceive they have a little taste, and do lay out some money, commit far greater havoc than even time itself, by the unfitness and absurdity of their alterations.(ibid., Ch.5, p.36)

To such a degraded state are these lay vicars, as they are termed, fallen, that even the keeper of a public tavern is found among their number. Thus, this man, fresh from the fumes of the punch-bowl and the tobacco-pipe, and with the boisterous calls of the

tap ringing in his ears, may be seen running from the bar to the choir, there figuring away in a surplice, till the concluding prayer allows him to rush back, and mingle the response of 'Coming, sir', to the amen that has hardly died away upon his lips. (ibid. p. 47)

There is much of feeling in this, but, as with most of Pugin's attack on the abuses of the Anglican church, little of humour. Pugin was too dedicated and committed a man to have much room for humour in his attacks on the things he hated. The above is continued, 'How can we wonder at the contempt into which the Establishment has fallen, when such disgraceful scenes as these have arisen from its system?' Pugin the satirist was customarily a man bitterly contemptuous of what he saw around him. Sometimes he did manage to curb these feelings and then his satire had great dignity and effect, as in the more balanced of the 'contrasts', both visual and literary, that I have cited above. When uncurbed his satire took a form that was not brilliant; it was, when couched in this savage vein, rather a dully glowing weapon, bitingly hot and impossible to quench. This is the other side of the man from the studious and factually orientated historian of religion portrayed elsewhere in this thesis. The combination of the two opposites made Pugin the notorious and emphatic controversialist that he was. Though the illustrations here have all been chosen from a small area of Pugin's total output, the conclusions will hold if transferred to any of his writings that include material in the satirical vein.

Pugin's stylistic weaknesses:

We should rate Pugin highly as a literary figure - sufficiently highly to treat his output in this field without any condescension. But we

must also recognise that Pugin did mis-handle some of his campaigns, did turn people against him; partly this arose out of the outspokenness of his writings, an outspokenness more likely to create antagonists than converts. But it also arose out of some serious flaws in his handling of prose. In this context it is worthwhile to consider two passages from the Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture (1843). They appear in the second of the two articles which make up that publication; in the first passage Pugin comments on a church in the East End of London, built on new principles and made by its architect the subject of an article in which he praises his own work. In the second, Pugin quotes an account taken from the Ecclesiologist of a new church built at Cambridge. On examination it becomes clear that, either by conscious or unconscious association, Pugin's own commentary closely follows in form that of the Ecclesiologist. We can therefore make a valid and direct comparison between the critical achievement of Pugin in this field, and that of the writer of the Ecclesiologist. Both commentaries need to be quoted at length so that this point becomes clear. First, Pugin's own account:

The history of this production is briefly as follows: the architect having obtained the job of erecting one of the church commissioners' conventicles at the eastern end of the metropolis, instead of being content to pocket his commission and the disgrace of the production quietly, was resolved to set forth this general specification of a London preaching-house of the nineteenth-century, in the form of a distinct publication.....: having thus dragged forth this unsightly building from its local obscurity, and that at a time when a fine spirit is arising for real ecclesiastical architecture, he must not complain if he get as unmercifully treated as the enormity of his case deserves. Most architects, indeed, are content to build bad things; but to engrave, describe and publish them afterwards, is something new, even in these pretending days..... As the funds allowed by church commissioners are too scanty

to admit of much detail, there is not much set forth under this head; but the architect has atoned for the absence of bosses, capitals, niches and tracery, by representing bricks, most ingeniously disposed in the form of barrel-drains, of varied diameters, and sections, of sewers and stink-traps, with all the complicated principles of conveying dirty water from the gutter down a pipe, through a barrel-drain, into the common-sewer, thence to old Father Thames, and so on till lost in the expanse of ocean. In following the architect into these minutiae, we have been hurried away by the muddy stream from the arrangement and appearance of the structure itself. The interior is a large room, covered with a low-pitched tie-beam roof; and if cleared out, would answer well for a manege or riding-school. The whole space is completely filled with pews, seats, and of course, galleries, which are approached by staircases at the west, and carried up in two clumsy erections, intended to look like towers, but of an elevation and scale which at once betray their real purpose. The style of the building is what, in the classification of competition drawings, would be termed Norman - that is to say, the arches are not pointed; but in other respects it bears no greater resemblance to the architecture of the tenth century, than it has in common with ordinary cellars, the Greenwich railway, or any round arched buildings. The illustrations are not, however, the most absurd portion of the publication; for the gravity and solemnity with which the most ordinary operations of building are described, are truly ridiculous: we have a full description of the different spots where holes were dug to ascertain the nature of the soil, of which remarkable excavations an accurate plan is inserted in the text. As the spade-handle was not, however, long enough to reach a sound bottom, the ingenious and novel experiment of boring was tried with complete success; by which it was ascertained that for several feet the site was composed of accumulated rubbish (typical, perhaps, of the intended structure); this leads to a dissertation on concrete; then we have an account of the carting and stacking of bricks, mixing mortar, building the walls, and the whole method of erecting a church on the cheap and nasty principle, winding up, like an actor on benefit night, with thanks to everybody, for their unparalleled

efforts and exertions. We are, however, obliged to the author for this publication, for it must do good by its very absurdity; and combining as it does, at one view, so many abominations which are common to the modern practice of church-building, it must convince every unprejudiced person of the absolute necessity of adhering strictly to ancient models and authorities in these matters, if we would erect churches at all worthy of their sacred purpose. (Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture, pp. 81-3)

The Ecclesiologist article is as follows:

A church has recently been erected in a very populous part of Cambridge, called New Town, and is now nearly completed, the whole of the exterior being finished, and the internal arrangements in a state of rapid progress. The church is intended to hold an indefinite number of people, that is, as many as can be packed in a small area by means of most extensive galleries, which are ingeniously contrived so as to run round and fill up every part of the interior; insomuch that, upon entering the church, it appears, at first sight, to be all gallery and nothing else. The church is of no particular style or shape; but it may be described as a conspicuous red brick building, of something between Elizabethan and debased perpendicular architecture. A low tower is added at the west end, in order that the rather doubtful ecclesiastical character of the edifice may not be mistaken, and for the purpose of containing, or rather displaying to advantage, three immense clock-faces, which will doubtless be useful as well as ornamental appurtenances to the building. The general design of this edifice is marked by the fearless introduction of several remarkable varieties and peculiarities of arrangement, which are strictly original conceptions..... The chief features of the tower are four heavy brick walls, having large four-centred belfry windows in the upper part, without cusping or mouldings, but filled up to the top with louvre slates. There are also four octagonal turrets, which rise a few feet above the battlements, and look very humble and un-aspiring, as becomes a modest cheap church in these days of refined architectural taste. The most remarkable, and one which is likely soon to prove the most striking, peculiarity of this

tower, is a vast circular aperture in each of the three sides, for the reception of the clock or clocks already alluded to. These apertures, or rather chasms, are circular holes cut in huge square stones, the four spandrils or corners of which are beautifully ornamented with the figures 1, 1, 4 and 8, which give scope to ingenious combinations, and which may be read in such an order as to make the date of the year, 1841. The hole is large enough for a full-grown bullock to leap through, were he desirous to try the experiment, as a tumbler does through a hoop; and we should say that the sooner each of them is stopped up by a good large clock (that of St. Paul's Cathedral, if procurable second-hand, would answer pretty well,) the better, since the upper part of the tower has at present the novel and rather unpleasant appearance from a distance of standing upon four legs.

The church is constructed of very red brick indeed, agreeably relieved at the corners by nice little white quoins of dressed ashlar, imparting a very picturesque appearance to the whole edifice..... It is intended, we presume, for a pious variety of Great St. Mary's in this town; though others suppose it rather to be a travesty of the chapel of Magdalene College, Oxford.

The windows of the aisles (for there are two real aisles, and a well developed clerestory lighted by rows of neat square cottage windows) are perhaps just a thought too large; but if the mullions had not stood quite on the same plane with the wall, and the heads had been pointed instead of square, and the jambs had had something of a moulding, and the lights been cinquefoiled in the head and under the transom, they would not have looked altogether unlike church windows..... There are real arches and piers inside; none of your cheap cast-iron pillars, but sturdy brick columns, without capitals, covered over with plaster that looks at a reasonable distance very like stone..... The roof is a kind of flat deal ceiling.....; and the whole, being varnished very brightly, looks as gay as the roof of the saloon in a first-rate steamship. As the altar is not yet put up, and probably not yet thought of, we cannot say where it will be placed.....

the great sprawling east window, if we may be allowed such a harsh expression, with consumptive-looking mullions and transom, and destitute of tracery. Both this and the west window in the tower are rather unsuccessful specimens of modern Gothic; or perhaps we

should have said, very good examples of modern, but very bad ones of ancient Gothic.

We have thus briefly detailed the general features of this extremely interesting building because we feel certain that those who have not seen it, cannot form a thoroughly correct and comprehensive idea of a CHEAP CHURCH OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

(Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture, pp. 83-5; taken by Pugin from the Ecclesiologist, vol. 1, November 1841, article 2, pp. 9-11)

The two passages have identical objects in that, through the medium of criticism of one specific new church, they seek to damage the general reputation of new ecclesiastical architecture. Pugin refers particularly to the 'general specification of a London preaching-house', the Ecclesiologist writer to the more general notion of 'modern Gothic'. A major point of comparison which soon emerges is the ease with which Pugin is diverted from this main object, the criticism of modern church building. He lampoons the character of his chosen architect in not submitting quietly to his 'disgrace'; makes a passing thrust at the Church Commissioners; and dwells for half the length of his total comment on drains and foundations which, however it might contribute to the damning and ridiculing of the architect and his book, does little or nothing to damage the reputation of his church. By contrast the Camdenian writer sticks rigorously to his task (for the sake of brevity, it was necessary to omit some part of the description of the interior of the church). He consistently demolishes the form and appearance of this church both in major and minor points of design. He realises that the reader must be taken by the hand and made to laugh at the folly of this church, and to agree with its critic; also he decides, wisely, not to seem to be too committed or serious. Pugin, on the other hand, tends to assume that the reader, if he has any intelligence, must be a convert already to the case before him and therefore only requires sporadic attention from the author. He does not disguise the

dislike and disgust he so heartily feels for the building and architect he is discussing. The basic tool of each article is a heavy irony at which each author displays more than competence; but again, Pugin's literary judgement is bad and he is unable, or unwilling, to confine himself to this effective mode. He oversteps the mark and his irony becomes so heavy as to be direct insult - '...accumulated rubbish (typical, perhaps, of the intended structure)...'. His choice of adjective also is unimaginative - 'unsightly', 'cheap and nasty'. No such imbalance is displayed in the Ecclesiologist article, which pursues a consistent course of biting irony without lapsing into mere insult or invective. There is a dryness in the humour which is refreshing, and also a sense of wonderment, as if the author himself can scarcely believe the truth of what he writes: '...it appears, at first sight, to be all gallery, and nothing else'. When he does approach invective, the writer first pardons himself, then takes care to choose a telling image: '...if we may be allowed such a harsh expression, with consumptive-looking mullions and transom'. Thus there is in the Ecclesiologist's writing both a humour, and a general sense of objectivity; the occasional stroke of savagery serves to enhance the overall effect. Pugin notably lacks success in these areas. We receive the impression of an angry man whose anger sporadically and uncontrollably breaks through the surface of a wit which, while never urbane, can at its best be highly effective. The anger damages the wit. This lack of objectivity is, to all appearances, caused by an excessive sense of commitment and involvement, and an ill-considered lack of regard for the best way in which to convey that involvement. As a writer in satiric vein this seems to be consistently the worst of Pugin's faults; that total honesty and frankness which could work so well when applied to his other areas of interest does not seem to come off in satire or attack, where a more subtle cleverness

is necessary for real effectiveness. Because it has the necessary prerequisites for successful prose satire, the Ecclesiologist piece tends to overshadow Pugin's own piece which, one suspects, was based by him on similar precepts and intentions to those he saw in its companion passage. But the Ecclesiologist writer demonstrated himself to be more competent at this type of writing and in so doing, pointed out effectively for the reader and critic the shortcomings of Pugin's own style and method.

Conclusion:

Pugin's typical amalgamation of argument or knowledge with an emotional form of appeal, expressed in powerful language, can be traced back to the dramatic interests of his youth. There is certainly a strong link between those interests and his inclination towards the religious drama of Catholicism. The link also extends into his writing, where vivid, dramatic passages are inserted for special effect. Sometimes, however, this sense of drama can spill over into bathos.

The short story form which Pugin occasionally adopted may be seen as an extension of this love for the dramatic, since it gave scope for following out in detail a personal story. The St. Julian story of 1839, taken from an Oscott lecture, is an early instance. The later example, concerning the two types of ambonoclasts, is by far the most ambitious and successful exercise of this type attempted by Pugin. It makes an imaginative story, well written except for some few small exceptions as noted in the course of the chapter. Most significant is the definite, almost allegorical intention behind this story; it refers both to Catholic history and the pattern it has followed and to the state of Catholicism, in Pugin's eyes, in the England of 1850.

As a satirist, though far more experienced, Pugin is probably less successful in literary terms (I do not refer here to his obviously great success in terms of controversy and impact, which is rather a different matter; those very powers of unleashed invective which detract from his literary performance were ideally suited to arousing popular notice and antagonism). Looking at his early work, especially Contrasts, both in literary and visual contexts, we find that close parallels can be drawn. Two methods of attack exist side by side; the first is balanced and relies heavily on an apt choice of subject, Pugin merely taking the role of selector and, with minor exceptions, leaving his well chosen material to do the work. But both in the 1836 Contrasts and, rather more so, in that of 1841, he also uses a more attacking style. Here, whether by illustration or writing, a contrast is made which is based not on architectural but on social or religious contrast. This can often be a bitter, invidious and palpably unfair procedure. The comparison is pointed by a use of style; dignified, heavily shaded illustrations, or weighty prose, are reserved for treatment of medieval subjects. A harsh illustrative style, or racy, vitriolic writing, deal with the modern. Our overall impression must be that there is too little humour, too much display of strong feeling, in much of Pugin's satire.

When presented, as in the Present State extracts, with two highly similar prose passages, one written by Pugin, the other by an anonymous writer with the same intentions and methods but more skilful technique in applying those methods, Pugin's faults are highlighted. He is unable to adapt style to purpose and easily diverted from his real course; his feelings, his anger, carry him away. His inflexibility in handling prose in certain situations is revealed here, as indeed it has been in all the cases I have considered in this chapter.

If it has seemed that the main aim of this chapter has been to lay stress on Pugin's limitations as a prose writer, now is the time to finally contradict that notion. As has been said before, the intention was to pay Pugin the compliment of treating him as a writer of real distinction, and without condescension. Viewed in that light, he has faults; but he also has many real virtues, and it is to be hoped that the effectiveness of his writing, particularly as seen in the extracts from the story of the Abbot of Conques and Jacques Frenin, has been conveyed. At best Pugin's prose has qualities of dignity and solemnity; if on the attack, his irony can be bitterly effective; if telling a story, his narrative compelling, concise and energetic. Inflexibility, vocabulary weaknesses and the inability to maintain his best standard consistently, are the bugbears that detract from this performance.

Conclusions:Summary of Content and Argument:

The thesis proper begins with consideration of certain aspects of Pugin's early work and the beginnings of his professional career. The years from 1834 to 1841 provided the most favourable setting for the development of Pugin's ideals and ambitions, for they were years of enthusiasm in the Catholic establishment, years when the 'amateur' influence of Pugin and his circle was accepted as important by many members of that establishment. Against this encouraging, even welcoming, background, Pugin rose rapidly to a position where he commanded respect and exerted influence over people as far apart in position and importance as the aged Bishop Walsh and the aspiring students of St. Mary's College at Oscott and St. Edmund's College at Ware. In 1830 Pugin was a young man of undoubted potential * but dubious tastes; his capacity for performing hard and exacting work was offset by a tendency to devote his energies to the relatively unimportant activities of theatrical set designing and sailing. By 1834 he was a scholar and a Catholic, with a quite deep knowledge of the tenets and principles of his new faith and a profound archaeological and historical interest in the architecture especially, but also in many wider aspects, of the middle ages. By 1836 he was embarked on a strenuous professional career, while as a writer his name was known to many, abhorred by not a few. Only five years later, in 1841,

* A particularly relevant article here has recently appeared in Furniture History, The Journal of the Furniture History Society, 1972: 'George IV and the Furnishing of Windsor Castle', by G. de Bellaigue and P. Kirkham. (pp. 1-34, also Plates 1-11) This article concerns Pugin's work for the firm of Morel and Seddon, designing furniture for Windsor Castle, which he began in 1827.

he was an established architect within the field of influence of the Catholic church, a Professor lecturing regularly at St. Mary's College, and a controversial writer whose outspoken support for his faith was known throughout the country; in many ways one could say something of Pugin in 1841, that it would not be possible to say of him at any later date - that he was an Establishment figure.

What were his qualities at this time? He projected an image of great learning in his chosen science, great powers of mind in all fields relating to the middle ages and the Catholic faith, great warmth, and above all great strength of mind and scarcely believable energy and endurance. Notoriety might be a better word than fame to describe his public standing, for his irascibility and strictly limited tolerance, towards those who were not both Catholic and Gothicist in outlook, were well known. In the presentation of his works at this early stage, whether written or three-dimensional, all of these traits are recognisable, and particularly his learning and informed feeling for the middle ages. But to make up the sum of what, in this thesis, has been called Pugin's 'medievalism', there was a strong emotive element. Often this element is most easily recognised when it runs to excess and becomes fulsomeness or mawkishness. But it exists also in balanced form; it can be seen in the buildings of Mount St. Bernard and St. John's Hospital, in the Letter to Hakewill (1835), and in some of the more successful passages of the first Contrasts (1836). When the scholarly and the archaeological fused with religious zeal, and when this content of emotionalism was added to them, the greatest of Pugin's work in these early years was produced. Later in his life, the scope for such success became limited; his erudition, his architectural competence, his scope and resources as a designer, all increased; but so also did the problems, the political overtones, the opposition, and the growth of 'professionalism' within the Catholic establishment, as typified

by the rise to prominence of Bishop Wiseman. All these things changed the character of the contribution to architecture, to Catholicism and to his times, that Pugin could make in his later years.

The Years of Major Achievement, 1841 to 1846:

Pugin's ideals in these, the most productive, the busiest, the most rewarding years of his career, were best expressed in his The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England (1843). 'Europeanism' played a strong part in the history of the Catholic church in these years, and in the relationships between Pugin and the Catholic establishment, but in two distinct ways. Pugin was a European; half-French by birth, he travelled widely and appreciated, or deplored, the various procedures he saw employed in the churches of Europe. More important than his private opinion on what he saw, was his desire to introduce the customs and procedures which pleased him, into the English church. Against this, the English Catholic body tended to be conservative, even reactionary, and to resent even the attempt to introduce foreign practices. Almost alone, as an exception to this tendency, Bishop Wiseman had strong links with Rome, where he had for many years been a successful academic before coming to England. From Pugin's 'Europeanism', perhaps, sprang one of the typical features of his opinions, and this was his desire to establish, or to support wherever possible, a new Catholic identity on an international scale. Thus, any parish church would have a local identity expressed through the type and scale of its construction, the exact form of its service, the life-style of its parishioners; but it would also relate directly to the many thousands of other Catholic parish churches in its own, and other, countries. This 'form' of a church, as outlined by Pugin in the Present State, did not fit the English Catholic's conception of the role of his church. It was an idealised and visionary view, perhaps also

a romanticised one. In concrete terms, one could claim that the reasoning behind Pugin's plea for the reintroduction of the chancel screen was based on this ideal of identity; the early opposition he received, on this issue and on several others at this time, relates to the general failure to accept Pugin's idealisation of the situation. Bishop Wiseman took the lead in this early opposition, and as years passed the antagonism which had begun spasmodically and over apparently unrelated subjects, coalesced; it began to be recognisable as a general and deep antipathy, within the English Catholic church, to Pugin's views and ideals. At the head of this opposition was the feeling that Pugin, in expressing his outspoken views, was exceeding the bounds of the architect's role. Pugin's views on charity and on the condition of the poor, and the working man, provide another example of the way in which his ideas diverged from the norm. In this instance, the unworldliness of his attitude is more easily seen, for his medievalised concept of social welfare contrasts strongly with the more typical and powerful voice of the day as uttered, for example, by Thomas Carlyle or, a little earlier, by John Stuart Mill. There is, though, a parallel to be traced between the social attitude taken by Pugin and that portrayed in such successful novels of the day as Disraeli's Sybil (1845) and Mrs. Gaskell's North and South (1855) or the more nearly contemporary Mary Barton, A Tale of Manchester Life (1848). Taken as a whole, these were years of great success both for Pugin and the English Catholic church; but at root, the relationship between the two was on uneasy, even false, foundations, and the occasional differences of these years can be seen as very exact microcosms of the disputes of the end of the decade.

Artistic Development:

The notion of change throughout Pugin's life and career is particularly relevant in the area of his artistic development. Art and religion were for Pugin inseparably combined, and the changes indicated in the above section, with reference to the progress of Catholicism from the beginnings of Pugin's career, can be paralleled in the artistic sphere. The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841) is as relevant here as was the Present State to the matters discussed above. It is a volume clearly valid, in its exposition of principles and its implications in the design field, for the Pugin of 1841. By 1851, however, developments had occurred which made its relevance then, as a statement of Pugin's case, extremely questionable. For the bulk of his life, Pugin's 'monolithic' theory of art had worked well: the theory, that is, that it was his function to re-create in its full power the religious art of the middle ages, and to integrate this effort with the hoped-for revival of the ancient forms of religion and worship in England. In this context, the tenets of the True Principles are telling. But if we attempt, retrospectively, to extrapolate from this one work a prophetic commentary on the architectural and design developments of the latter part of the nineteenth century, we fail. This is not to say that Pugin was not a seminal figure in the later developments of nineteenth-century design; but it is to the later years of his life that we must turn for a true indication of his importance in this direction. For in the heyday of his career, Pugin had developed the art-manufacture system, had encouraged the development of the craftsman, had pioneered experiments in perfecting new, and reintroducing old, methods in many fields of his work, and in doing all of these things had contributed significantly and uniquely to the history of nineteenth century art. But only in the last years of

his life did his own design theory take a new direction and seem poised to bring him into the main stream of his age on a conceptual level. In a clearly demonstrable alteration of his own earlier ethic, Pugin began to seek for what he called in a letter to Crace a 'nobler simplicity' in his designs. The former style of work still went on, the attempt to produce the 'true thing' in the medieval context. But, advancing along a course of its own, regrettably cut short by Pugin's death, the move towards producing consciously plain, simple, solid designs began. This was the significant step forward of Pugin's last years, and arguably the most notable development in his whole working life. It relates, clearly, to the story of his relationship with his church; for while his fellow Catholics wanted and respected him and his work, Pugin had little time for major re-thinking of his design theory. But as he matured, the Catholic revival also matured and the relations between him and it became uneasy, and so he began to re-think the basis of his art work. This is the all-important element of change in the artistic work of Pugin in the course of his professional career. To return to a constant theme, let me stress that to point out this important aspect of change does not undermine the authority which Pugin achieved while working in the modes which, thanks largely to his efforts, became traditional to this part of the century. Working in these modes, Pugin managed to ensure that his name will hold a firm place in the art-history of his time. But if we can see him also as a constantly developing, maturing figure, rather than as a static practitioner of a design ethic which he established, in practice and in print, only five years after the start of his real professional career (earlier, in fact, for the True Principles originated as lectures delivered possibly as early as 1838 or 1839) then his status and achievement are so much the more lofty and assured; and his potential importance to the vital developments later in the century is also greatly increased.

The Place of the Study of History in Pugin's Work:

Between the pre-conversion historical notes and jottings in his notebooks, and the carefully thought out and sustained interpretative work which went into the Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy (1851), comes an important progression. From the relative open-mindedness of his early notebooks, Pugin became, with the first edition of Contrasts, a Catholic historical propagandist. But from then onwards, the continuing process was towards the replacement of Catholic history by a less biassed, less preconceived, interpretation. In 1851, this reached the stage where it drew down on Pugin the clear threat of censure from the great Wiseman, now Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Pugin faced the threat with firmness and, despite his impeccable politeness on this occasion, made it clear that if necessary he would stand up for his views as firmly as he knew how. In the first Contrasts, Pugin's study of history had been borne along by his desire to further the Catholic cause; in the Earnest Address he used his historiography consistently, for the first time, to imply clear criticism of the Catholic hierarchy of the English church of which he was a faithful member. The steps between these two extreme positions can be clearly traced, and this has been done in detail in my chapter on Historicism.

The insights gained from a study of Pugin's use of history dovetail neatly with conclusions drawn from his work and expressed opinions in the other large fields of religious and artistic development. From the three topics taken together, we can obtain a clear though composite picture. The place held in this picture by an analysis of Pugin's historical studies may be thought by some to be open to doubt. My contention is that this doubt is misplaced. Besides his native talent, Pugin's prowess and achievement rested firmly on the acquiring of

knowledge; whether this knowledge lay in the architectural, theological or historical field is largely irrelevant. Pugin set for himself the task of becoming competent in all the fields which he deemed to be of interest and value to his life-work. Scholarly knowledge of the past, and particularly of the history of his beloved middle ages, was a vital component in this task. We can no more ignore Pugin the historian, than we can ignore Pugin the designer, for to him the past, seen in an historical and also a feeling way, was an essential component of the present. The importance of the study of history must be borne in mind when assessing the full complex meaning of the events of Pugin's life, and particularly of the last years which have now to be finally considered: the overt split with certain elements of the Catholic church between 1846 and 1851, and the overall implications of the final three years of his life.

Puginism as Demonstrated in the Periodical:

The firm links between religion, art and literature in the history of Puginism are nowhere better demonstrated than in the pages of the contemporary periodical. The preoccupations of the protagonists, both major and minor, in the various disputes which arose, the strength of feeling which was engendered, the day-to-day alterations and modifications in general opinion, all of these things are reflected at their best in the record which periodicals have preserved for the modern critic. In the tracing of a specific phenomenon - in this instance, the process by which Pugin kept the sympathy of the authors of the Ecclesiologist, but gained the total disapprobation of the editors of the Rambler in the last years of the forties - the periodical provides an unrivalled source of first-hand information. In the earlier chapters of the thesis it has been established that, from its very beginning,

Pugin's career was filled with change; consideration of relevant periodicals enables the process of change to be mapped in those years when it rose to a peak, from 1846 to 1852.

The Ecclesiologist has the reputation of representing an arrogant and opinionated school of thought. We must not forget, however, that despite its forcefulness in expressing its views, it played no innovative role in the evolution of the artistic and religious disputes surrounding the Gothic and Catholic revivals in the eighteen-thirties and forties. For in essence, the chief issues were coalesced before the Ecclesiologist became a force to be reckoned with; the Gothic style had emerged as the dominant one by the late thirties, though much development was still needed; and the historical and liturgical issues of the religious revival were being taken up, largely as a result of Pugin's insistence, while the Camdenians were still a small undergraduate society. What the Ecclesiologist achieved, quite admirably, was to fill the role of spokesman for the church-building movement as it matured. It was a consistent and honourable publication, in that it adhered to its original viewpoints with remarkable consistency; and also it stood by its original ally and friend, Pugin, even when his outlook and its own began to be outdistanced by the contemporary turn of thought and events. The Rambler came late onto the scene; if the Ecclesiologist arrived in time to become spokesman throughout the heyday of Puginism, the Rambler came to represent the idea, then gaining strength, that Puginism was dead and a thing of the recent past, an incomprehensible phenomenon that was best forgotten, as soon as it had been firmly reviled.

These were the two periodicals most concerned in the dispute over Puginism, though others contributed opinions and comments from time to time. The picture that emerges is that of Pugin's changing status, both in the religious and artistic fields. Catholicism, since its

initial rather euphoric post-Emancipation state in the eighteen-thirties, had acquired an intensely determined and professional establishment to further its aims. The Gothic revival had followed a similar sort of process and had acquired new practitioners with new ideals. The names of a new generation were becoming well known by the end of Pugin's life - Street and Butterfield, for instance - and even within the relatively narrow confines of Catholic church-building, architects such as M.E. Hadfield were becoming, not shadowy reflections of Pugin's own glory, but faces and reputations in their own right.

Consideration of the periodical world in the later eighteen-forties brings the format of the thesis near to completion. Various aspects of the life, work, intellectual and artistic development of Pugin from 1830 to 1850 have now been discussed, and the shape of a pattern of events can be seen. Religious, artistic and literary fields each reveal their own picture of change and these separate pictures now complement, now offset, one another as they go to make up a composite view. It remains to complete the picture by seeing Pugin as he was in the last years of his short life.

Pugin from 1849 to 1852:

The deaths of Bishop Walsh, Fathers Barbieri and Gentili, and of course Lord Shrewsbury, had left Pugin, at the end of his life, very much deprived of the sympathetic comradeship, spiritual as well as actual, which he had enjoyed ever since he became a Catholic. His involvement with the Catholic cause had become soured, and his opinions and methods concerning the furthering of the Catholic cause in England had in large part been rejected. In his scholarship, he was moving on to considerations and viewpoints which were very much at odds with the

fervent and unconsidered Catholicism of his early thoughts and writings. And in his art work, new notions of simplicity and plainness were reflecting the change which had already begun in the progress of the Gothic revival and which was to become the dominant art-movement of the nineteenth century. With the exception of the exciting and prophetic changes in his artistic practice and theory, these were disillusioning times for Pugin, and some signs of this were manifest in these final years. His correspondence reveals that he felt weighted down by many unwelcome tasks, such as his work for Captain Hibbert. But, surprisingly, such practical manifestations of disappointment or disillusionment were rare. True, Pugin railed against the Great Exhibition, deplored the amount of work which it brought him for small return, claimed that it was only the enthusiasm of friends such as Grace which sustained him through the general baseness and paganism of the exhibits. But his Medieval Court was one of the more successful, the part he played in creating it was lauded, and he was accorded the considerable compliment of being appointed as a working juror, which compliment he accepted, though he was tired and ill. In the field of religion it is noticeable that, though he was evolving thoughts generally inimical to the contemporary Catholic establishment, he partially suppressed such thoughts in order to write a celebration of the establishment of the new hierarchy, his Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy (1851). He was still heart and soul a Catholic in 1852, as he was a medievalist. Important changes had taken place which materially affected the position and status of Puginism in the country, indeed, practically nullified it as a movement, but Pugin retained his basic allegiances and strength of mind up to the final illness of 1852. The relation of this final illness, the loss of reason, with the events of the preceding few years, is a difficult issue and

one which is best left open. Certainly the strain of rejection, the realisation that the visions of a working lifetime would never materialise, the overwork, all contributed to Pugin's dissolution. But then, as has been stated at length, Pugin never was completely accepted, either in his religious or artistic ideas; his peak of achievement came, in many ways, around 1841, and though he then sustained his position over a few more productive working years, his final struggle had begun in earnest as early as 1845. The artistic innovations which have been referred to as taking place in these last years were vital ones; taken as a progression from Pugin's earlier and established views on the glories of the medieval style, of richness where possible, and of the use of ornament in construction, his ultimate move towards an acknowledged and deliberately sought 'nobler simplicity' was historically significant. On a personal level, however, it is doubtful whether it brought him great satisfaction; for his difficulties and problems in other areas were manifold and overwhelming. Two written works, the Earnest Address and the unpublished MS text which has been discussed, shed a necessary light on the state of Pugin's mind in the period immediately preceding his death.

Pugin as a Writer:

One can see as much of Pugin the man, as of Pugin the archaeologist, scholar and historian, in his writings as in the buildings he erected. In particular, the nature of the appeal he made to the reader through his writing is worth consideration. It is a blend in which the dramatic interests of Pugin's early, pre-Catholic years play a large part. There is a temptation for the critic to overstress this link, and to make much of the dramatic content of the medieval forms of

Catholic worship; while there is some validity in this notion, it is little short of an insult to Pugin to overstress it. We should therefore content ourselves with the reflection that the combination of emotional with scholarly and rational argument is a constant feature of Pugin's writings. The balance, naturally, alters; if emotionalism intrudes too far then bathos or fulsomeness can result; if science and religious argument take too prominent a place, then Pugin can be monotonously didactic. When balance is achieved, the prose is powerful and effective. The aggressive part of Pugin's character, signalled by the desire to attack, lampoon, satirise, both verbally and pictorially, also plays a strong part in forming the character of much of the writing. The final aspect, which previous to this thesis had been too little stressed, is the narrative power which Pugin occasionally, and with great feeling, displays. This aspect has been suitably stressed in the relevant chapter of the thesis; so beyond reiterating its importance to our total appreciation of Pugin's capability, I need stress it no further in these final remarks.

Pugin chose, quite deliberately, to establish his ideas and opinions through the written word as well as the medium of architecture and design. There is, therefore, ample justification for us to regard the written statements he produced as of equal importance with the concrete. We should note their strengths and also their flaws; this my chapter on Pugin as a writer has attempted to do, treating his writings in critical detail, without condescension and with sympathy for his intentions.

Final Remarks:

Pugin and Catholicism came together in 1834; both the man and the

movement were then in a state which one might describe as excited and immature, as demonstrated in the quite widely held Catholic view of these years, that the conversion of the whole of England to Catholicism was an ultimate, realizable target. Out of this initial strength of feeling and idealism came the fine architectural and design achievements of the early part of the forties, when Pugin pushed forward his artistic practice and achievement on a broad front - churches, secular buildings, ironwork, stained glass, rich fabrics, tiling, painted interiors, furniture, the whole spectrum of architecture, design and art-manufacture. As this work went forward, the processes of change operated elsewhere; party relationships altered and, for Pugin, worsened. Ambrose Phillipps' ambitious attempts to forge links with the Anglican party at Oxford were only partially successful but Pugin, of his own accord, reached a high level of understanding with the Ecclesiologists. Elsewhere relations became a little strained as the English Catholic movement imperceptibly lost its temporary youthful idealism, and the frictions and ambitions, represented in the thirties only by the antagonism of the splenetic Bishop Baines of the Western District, began to spread. Puginism became, for many, a qualified good. As those close to Pugin fell away, the difficulties spread to the artistic sphere as rising talents threatened to obscure Pugin's own. The real alleviation visible to us now, in the general decay of Pugin's schemes and ideals, was the moves he made in the artistic sphere. But in 1852, the time of the greatest possibility for change his life had yet passed through, Pugin died.

Within this framework of personal difficulty Pugin contributed vitally to the Catholic revival and to the intellectual quality of the two decades, or rather less, of his greatest activity. Also he gave much to the artistic quality of those years, being an innovatory and radical

figure in his chosen art-field. Of the varied aspects of his activity, we recognise primarily the artistic, regarding Pugin the inaugural designer even more highly than Pugin the church-architect, for his subsequent influence on the progress of events has perhaps been felt most in the design field. In architecture, he established the genesis and the acceptability of the Gothic style, so that his influence in terms, largely, of derivative impact, is enormous. But in design and art-manufacture his achievement was greater still, both in his day and in terms of influence. The Puginist spirit existed in the formation of the Kensington Museum complex; it existed in the work of the William Morris firm; it spread also into the vernacular of Victorian design, for at least some of the contents of the typical Victorian sitting-room could be traced directly back to his influence.

The impact of the Catholic religion on Pugin is less evident to us now; but its importance to the critic who seeks to understand can be summed up in the thought that, for Pugin as an artist, there was really only one true, formative influence, and that was Catholicism, reflected especially in Catholic medieval art. Like most generalisations, this one grossly simplifies the issue, but in essence it is true. Catholicism also, it is well not to forget, provided Pugin with a sympathetic and even affluent network of patronage, backed by the enthusiasm of some remarkable men; and it is unlikely that the confines of a more conventional and easy life would have provided the excitement and intellectual stimulation that his gave to Pugin. Add to this, that these were fascinating years in the history of organised religion in England and Europe, and the significance of the religious influence on Pugin's life is clear.

For these reasons it has seemed proper to step outside the conventional

bounds of the art-historians' sphere and regard Pugin with as few preconceptions and limiting thoughts as possible. The evidence chosen on which to rest the various statements and cases that have been made, has been as far as possible taken from contemporary sources, either Pugin's own work, correspondence, designs and notes, or other records. It is not the aim of the finished argument to re-position Pugin radically in the history of the nineteenth century, nor to overturn generations of Pugin criticism; but it has been my intention to re-define relationships, to pinpoint changes and the reasons whereby these came about, and to set the whole picture in a context which provides intellectual justification for the role that Pugin played. He is a unique figure and on one level one can say of him that his uniqueness led to his downfall, his ultimate failure. On a positive note, however, his uniqueness sufficed to take hold of a movement, the Gothic revival, and play a major role in adapting this to the exigencies of Victorian life. His facility in art, and literacy in writing, not only enabled him to bring this about through the exercise of his enormous energies, but also left us an important critical key to understanding the movement he represented, which can seem to us, in the twentieth century, a puzzling one.

AppendixTranscription of the text of an unpublished, incomplete prose MS
written by A.W.N. Pugin.

Taken from one of Pugin's notebooks, now the property of the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, press no. 86 MM 48. Undated, but written mid-1850.

This is in no way a complete transcript, being intended only to provide further information on the content and nature of this MS text, in addition to that included in the main text of the thesis. Only such passages as are almost completely decipherable and beyond doubt are included, much matter being necessarily omitted on the grounds of partial or complete illegibility. Further editing has been introduced, directed at introducing only such material as, directly or by inference, throws light on Pugin's intentions and the state of his thoughts when he wrote this MS. Run-of-the-mill historical comment and passages which duplicate statements made elsewhere are generally omitted, unless such duplication is significant. Needless to say, the greatest care has been taken to ensure that the editing process has not distorted the overall picture. Short notes have been added for clarification where necessary, taking the form of bracketed passages between extracts. Where gaps are unavoidable, each dash represents a missing word; dubious interpretations, or alternatives, are bracketed. Passages are identified by the leaf numbers of the notebook..

The MS text, extracts:

It is therefore in the hope of remedying prejudice and misapprehended causes of bitterness and fear that I have compiled this short account of the change of religion in this country and I trust that all will give it patient and unbiassed perusal. (69)

I feel certain that real authors of change were among the Catholics and not the Protestants. Protestantism is an effect, not a cause; I therefore maintain that one should look to the cause, and I believe if we take the fourteenth, or even the thirteenth century, we shall find a more satisfactory means of explaining this great movement

than in the more evident actions of the sixteenth century.(68)

(Having made his introductory remarks,Pugin now turns to the development of degeneracy and corruption in the Catholic church prior to the Reformation. He analyses the different types of religious men and their influence on the growth of this degeneracy; particular attention is paid to damage wrought by those who were leaders of the church,while the rank and file,and the congregations,are generally treated with more respect. This tendency almost certainly reflects Pugin's own feelings about the Church Hierarchy at the time of writing. The problem caused by the translation of Bishops from see to see is dealt with:)

Another evidence of great degeneracy was the frequent translation of Bishops who,(crudely),held their sees more for the monies,than spiritual welfare of their flocks. Circumstances may occur in which it is highly desirable for the advance of religion to transfer a prelate of great piety from a small diocese to one of more unbounded usefulness,but the continual transfer of a Bishop from Diocese to Diocese is nearly always attended with great potential evils. It takes a considerable time for any bishop to become acquainted with the real wants of his Diocese,with the conduct of his clergy and the various abuses that are certain to spring up; and supposing that a bishop,after applying himself to this work,is suddenly translated to begin over again in a new field,it is evident that his previous labour is only so much time lost. That discipline degenerated with translations there can be no doubt.....(65)

(Pugin goes on to consider the allied problems of absenteeism and the growth of indifference and slackness in the celebration of the divine offices in large religious establishments. He points out the very real antagonism between the monastic or collegiate clergy,and the secular.)

It will thus be seen that the Church of England prior to the Schism consisted of two principal and almost(antagonistic)bodies of clergy, mutually jealous of each other; and then may be added a third which, of a humbler - ,exercised an enormous influence over the lower classes: the mendicant orders.(62)

(These 'mendicant orders', along with the village priest, were seen by Pugin as the body who best represented and furthered the true aims of the church. He has thus completed a case in which the men in authority are universally condemned, in his view, and the lower types of clergy are praised. This is emphatically not a view Pugin would have taken earlier in his life.)

(said of the mendicant friars) It is not surprising that this class of religious should have acquired the confidence and the support of great masses of the people.(60)

(Pugin then takes the step, revolutionary for him, of dealing with some show of sympathy with the Protestant reformers. Wycliffe is introduced into the argument. Though this passage is in large part illegible, it is clear that Pugin shows approval of Wycliffe's stand against corruption and the decline of standards in the Catholic church, though he still condemns the later turn of the reformer's thoughts, writing: '...unfortunately he passed on from action to principles, attacked the fundamentals of religion, and ended by heresy.(58))

There are few topics more pleasing to men who are inclined to sin than the vices of the church; they delude themselves into the idea that they form a sort of easing and palliation of their own offences(57)

(Moving on to consider the Reformation in England, Pugin sees three 'serious errors' in the view people hold of that movement; these are:)

.....to imagine, first, that England separated from Rome on matters of faith and 2nd., that the Protestants and the Catholics were two distinct classes of people, the former driving out the latter.....and 3rd., that the people took an active part in the change and in expelling the antient clergy.(54)

(The first of these three is now an historical commonplace; the second and third are explained by Pugin thus:)

The clergy who brought the English in the Schism were the old Catholic Bishops who betrayed the church and the people; and so far from

the people as a nation taking an active part in the changes, as soon as the ancient worship was (word illegible, but with meaning of 'superseded') there were risings all over England. The poor people remained patient under the schism for no perceptible change was visible to them.....the same priest offered the same mass at the same altar, the same church. To them there was no visible change; but when their altar pieces began to be desecrated, when their sacred images were defaced, when they never heard the sacramental mass but a new service in its stead, then indeed they took alarm.....vile pictures which modern anti-Catholic orators draw of the heroic intention of their fathers to throw off the yoke of Rome is all twaddle; these people knew very little about it until the Catholic Bishops issued pastorals for every vicar to preach against the power of the Pope at least four times in the year. For as I have said before, at that time, when transport was so difficult and men stayed at home, the parish was the world.....(53)

(Pugin then moves to the events of the Reformation, which he still calls, 'the period which sounded the death of holiness'(52) though, as we have seen, he is not as adamantly opposed to it now as the recurrence of that particular stereotyped Puginesque comment would have us believe. His denigration now is directed more to the political manoeuvrings accompanying the change of religion, than to the event itself. He is scornful of the way in which Henry VIII utilised the jealousy existing among the upper echelons of the church hierarchy, between the abbatial and episcopalian authorities, and the way that this jealousy was used to secure the dissolution of the monasteries. But he is at pains to point out that this is neither a new, nor a Protestant, procedure:)

.....the proposal of the King was to dissolve the abbeys and convert them into cathedral and collegiate establishments. Now in this there was nothing very shocking; the same thing had been done by the Pope's legate and by his authority but a few years previously.(51)

(After a few pages which discuss the actual process of the Reformation, the dissolution of monasteries and other allied events, Pugin comments:)

Indeed such is the contemptible state into which the old church men

had fallen that some of the so-called reformers almost shine by their sides.(46-5)

(Following on from this account of the processes involved,Pugin gives some space to considering the consequences,or apparent consequences, of the changes; often the appearance belied the reality,as with the marriage of clergy:)

A vast number of the priests both married the moment the Penal statutes respecting it were repealed and brought forth wives with whom they had previously cohabited in secret,who were then speedily discarded in the subsequent reign of Mary.....(44)

(Here,as elsewhere,the argument is simply that the Reformation facilitated what had become,principally through its furtiveness,a corrupt practice. Pugin does not attempt to discuss whether or not celibacy among the priesthood is necessary; his point is that a clandestine avoidance of church law must be bad,must hide a larger disaffection with what had become an ineffective system. The Reformation acted genuinely to dispel this disaffection and to re-establish holiness, if in a different form. Indeed,initially,as Pugin goes on to say,the form was not so very different. The liturgy,with which he deals on leaves 43-2,did not become greatly unorthodox; of the vernacular he does not approve,but his most important objection to the changes is not a doctrinal one: it refers instead to the difference in attitude which the anglicisation of the service brought about. It is a valid and original argument:)

To imagine that Christ died for a small portion of one quarter of the globe which he(created) is too preposterous to be endured and yet I must say Englishmen have held,and do indeed hold (illegible- meaning 'beliefs') which would lead one to infer that their country is a sort of ark in the deluge,the only spot receiving gospel light. Now although, in temporal matters,I believe England to be the most forward spot in the universe,though I would not on any consideration that its sons should feel one - - - of anxiety,or less honest faith in its ambitions,still anything appertaining too exclusively in religion is opposed to the great scheme of the redemption of the world and is utterly unworthy of an enlightened nation to entertain.(42)

(The above extract demonstrates that, however much more tolerant Pugin has become of the Anglican church, he is still opposed to isolationism in religion. The statement he makes is not un-Catholic; but it is equivocal. What is original is that Pugin has isolated the notion of intense nationalistic feeling, shown the way in which the English Reformation realigned the force of that feeling, and shown also that there may be possibilities (and implied needs) for a further realignment of that feeling. Pugin's intense nationalism must always be born in mind, as well as his intense religious feeling; the son of an emigrant from France, his conversion to England was almost as violent as his conversion to Catholicism.)

(The MS then moves on to consider the reigns subsequent to that of Henry VIII. These are the sections where the closest resemblance to the Earnest Address seems to exist. The main purpose of the account is to demonstrate the unsettled state of religion in the reigns of Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth I. This was, says Pugin, a time when royal decree conflicted with national religious feeling and no resolved system of religion was allowed to establish itself. Parties on both sides existed, and shades of feeling in between, but the initiative rested with the monarch and the result for the populace was confusion. The description of the destruction and re-erection of church furniture demonstrates the prevailing mood and conditions:)

It is also certain for (ambitious) - that the orders for the re storation of the churches were complied with in a tardy and unsatisfactory manner. It is certainly curious to observe in the churchwarden accounts that the same men were paid for pulling down or setting up the rood as the case might be, denuding altars, (removing) the stones, and again for setting them up, all these things to be done and (undone) by the (behest) of the - . The spirit of the antient devotion that first raised and honoured the (Rood) was gone and its erection became a mere matter of parliamentary decree. (38-7)

Bibliography :

1. Books and Pamphlets written by Pugin, in chronological order of publication.

A Letter to A.W.Hakewill, architect, in answer to his Reflections on the Style for Rebuilding the Houses of Parliament. (Printed and published for the author by W.B.Brodie and Co., Salisbury, 1835).

Gothic Furniture Designed and Etched in the Style of the 15th. Century by A.W.N.Pugin. (London, Ackermann and Co., 1835)

Designs for Gold and Silversmiths. (Dated by the author on the title-page, 1830; published London, Ackermann and Co., 1836)

Designs for Iron and Brass Work in the Style of the XV and XVI Centuries. (London, Ackermann and Co., 1836)

Details of Ancient Timber Houses of the 15th. and 16th. Centuries, selected from those existing at Rouen, Caen, Beauvais, Gisors, Abbeville, Strasbourg, etc., drawn on the spot and etched by A.Welby Pugin. (London, Ackermann and Co., 1836)

- The four above works appeared, bound together, as:
Ornaments of the 15th. and 16th. Centuries. (Edinburgh, 1904)

Contrasts, or, a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and Similar Buildings of the Present Day; shewing the Present Decay of Taste. (Printed for the author and published by him, St. Marie's Grange, near Salisbury, 1836)

A Reply to Observations which Appeared in Fraser's Magazine for March 1837, on a Work Entitled Contrasts. (London, printed for the author by James Moyes, Castle Street, Leicester Square, 1837)

· An Apology for a Work Entitled Contrasts, being a Defence of the Assertions Advanced in that Publication Against the Various Attacks Lately Made Upon It. (Birmingham, printed for the author by R.P. Stone and Son, 1837)

'Lectures on Ecclesiastical Architecture, delivered to the Students of St. Marie's College, Oscott, by A.W.Pugin, Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities in that College'. (from the Catholic Magazine, formerly the

Edinburgh Catholic Magazine; London, New Series). Three Lectures appear: 1) Vol. II, April 1838, No. IV, pp. 193-213; 2) Vol. II, June 1838, No. XVII, pp. 321-337; 3) Vol. III, pp. 17-34 and 89-98.

A Letter on the Proposed Protestant Memorial to Cranmer, Ridley and Latymer; Addressed to the Subscribers to and Promoters of that Undertaking. (London, Booker and Dolman, 1839)

Contrasts: or, a Parallel Between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day; Shewing the Present Decay of Taste. (London, Dolman, 1841). This second edition is greatly revised; the text is altered and much enlarged; of the illustrative Plates, one has been removed, four added and the remainder rearranged. A facsimile reprint by the Leicester University Press, 1969, includes all of the plates and has an Introduction by Henry-Russell Hitchcock; it reproduces only the 1841 letter-press.

The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture: Set Forth in Two Lectures Delivered at St. Marie's College, Oscott. (London, Weale, 1841) (The dates of the original lectures are not recorded).

The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England. (London, Dolman, 1843). The title-page states, 'Republished from the Dublin Review'; the volume is made up of two articles, the first appearing in the Dublin Review, No. XX, May 1841; the second in No. XXIII, February 1842.

An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England. (London, Weale, 1843).

Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume, Compiled and Illustrated from Antient Authorities and Examples with Extracts from the Works of Durandus, Georgius, Bona, Catalani, Gerbert, Martene, Molanus, Thiers, Mabillon, Ducange, etc.. Faithfully Translated by the Reverend Bernard Smith of St. Marie's College, Oscott. (London, Bohn, 1844)

- A 2nd. Edition, 'enlarged and revised by the Rev. Bernard Smith of Oscott'. (London, Bohn, 1846)
- A 3rd. Edition, ditto. (London, Bohn, 1868)

A Short Account of Organs Built in England from the Reign of King Charles the Second to the Present Time. By John Sutton and A.W.Pugin. (London, Masters, 1847)

Floriated Ornament - A Series of Thirty-One Designs. (London, Bohn, 1849)

'A Defence of the Revival of Pointed Ecclesiastical Architecture in Reply to Some Recent Attacks'. From the Weekly Register, October 6th. 1849, Vol.1, No.10; with the subtitle, 'Why This Waste'.

An Address to the Inhabitants of Ramsgate. (London, Dolman, 1850)

An Earnest Appeal for the Revival of the Ancient Plain Song. (London, Dolman, 1850)

- Another edition (London, Washbourne; New York, Benziger Bros.) appeared in 1905, with the statement that it was reprinted 'through the kindness of Mrs. Pugin, the devoted widow of the great and gifted architect.....'; this was a reference to Jane Knill, Pugin's third wife whom he married in 1848 and who lived past the turn of the century.

The Present State of Worship Among the Roman Catholics - By a Roman Catholic. (London, 1850). This work is a partial reprint of the Earnest Appeal.....(v. above), with a slight commentary, published by an Anglican body called the 'English Churchman'.

Some Remarks on Articles which have Recently Appeared in the Rambler, Relative to Ecclesiastical Architecture and Decoration. (London, Dolman, 1850).

A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, Their Antiquity, Use and Symbolic Signification, by A. Welby Pugin, architect, Illustrated with Figures copied on Stone from Drawings by the Author. (London, Dolman, 1851)

An Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy. (London, Dolman, 1851)

- In 1875 this work was reprinted with the extended title, Church and State, or Christian Liberty, An Earnest Address on the Establishment of

the Hierarchy. (London, Longmans and Co., 1875). This edition was edited by E.W. Pugin and ran to 4 editions within the year. The 3rd. of these contained letters from Newman, Canon Liddon and Gladstone to E.W. Pugin, and a letter from A.W. Pugin to Cardinal Wiseman.

2. Manuscript Works and Correspondence by Pugin, including the Diaries.

Notebooks and Books of Drawings:

Four volumes, bound, of hand drawn designs for imaginary projects by Pugin. These are now in the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum Library; details and press nos. as follows:

The Shrine. (1832) Designs for a Gothic shrine for St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury; slight text; black ink, with some illumination. Press no. 86 MM 14.

Le Chateau. (1833) Plans and detail drawings of a Gothic mansion; black ink with some illumination, no text. Press no. 86 MM 15.

St. Margaret's Chapel. (1833) Designs for a Chapel, in black ink with illumination; no text, but a few comments on the quality of the designs, added by Pugin in later years. Press no. 86 MM 16.

St. Marie's College. (1834) Another volume of designs for an unrealised project, black ink with illumination, no text. No connection with the College of St. Mary at Oscott. Press no. 86 MM 17.

Five Notebooks, also now in the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum Library. Details and press nos. as follows:

Notebook with Inscription on Cover, 'Caen, October 1823'. (1834 ? - v. p. 132-3 of the thesis for a discussion of the dating). Containing information on various subjects. Press no. 86 MM 37.

Notebook, 'Some Notes Towards an Autobiography'. (This title, convenient for identification purposes, was given by the cataloguer and should not be taken to imply a set purpose on Pugin's part.) In Diary form, covering the period 1818 to 1831, though not fully. Probably a rewriting, in 1831, of an original Diary. Press no. 86 MM 13.

Notebook, containing sketches from journeys in Northampton, elsewhere in England, and France. No commentary; date unknown, but c. 1841. Press no. 86 MM 47.

Notebook, (1847) containing notes and sketches on a tour of France and Italy - a partial account of Pugin's lengthy tour of that year, when he visited Rome. Press no. 86 MM 34.

Notebook, (1850) containing two draft MSS:

a) The story of Louis Chantal, Abbot of Conques, and Jacques Frénin,

revolutionary; this story later appeared as the 'Pagan Ambonoclast' and the 'Revolutionary Ambonoclast' (pp.81-99) of the Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts (1851; v.p.ix above).

b) A draft version of an unfinished, untitled work by Pugin - v. thesis, pp.223ff., and the Appendix, pp.i-vi above)
Press no.86 MM 48.

Correspondence:

Ten Letters from Pugin to Mrs.Gough at Birmingham; from a volume entitled Original Puginiana, 'put together and arranged by RHP and CHP about 1868'. (HP represents Hardman Powell, the family name of Pugin's son-in-law). Dated from 1830-31. Now in the Collection of the Print Room, Victoria and Albert Museum, press no.94 F 54.

Eighty-two Letters from Pugin to the Earl of Shrewsbury; covering the period 1840 to 1850. Now in the Collection of Lady Alford, a great grand-daughter of Pugin, of The Barn, Staplecross, Sussex.

Fifty-six Letters from Pugin to the Earl of Shrewsbury; covering the period 1840 to 1850. In the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, press no.Box IV 86 DD.

Letters from Pugin to John Diblee Crace, covering the period from 1844 to 1852; 370 letters, approx.. In the Collection of the RIBA Library, MSS Box Pug.1-10.

Also, a) MSS Box Pug.11, among a few miscellaneous items, a letter, dated January 1895, from Jane Pugin (Pugin's widow) to J.D.Crace.

b) MSS Box Pug.12, seven letters written in 1850 from Pugin to M.E.Hadfield; and one letter, 1841, to D.C.Read.

Ten Letters from Pugin to Henry Cole, and two from Cole to Pugin. All concern the Great Exhibition of 1851. In the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, Cole's Correspondence, Box 12, press mark KRC.

Twenty Letters from Pugin to Jane Knill, his third wife. Covering the years from 1848 to 1851, these letters were recently donated by Lady Alford to the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum

Library; press no.Box IV 86 DD.

Letters from Pugin to John Hardman; a lengthy correspondence, from the Collection of Mrs.Watts, widow of a great grandson of Pugin, resident at Ismere House, Kidderminster.

Correspondence from the Archives of St.Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham. Including two letters, 1838-9, from Pugin to Hardman; also letters from Cardinal Franzoni, the Prefect of Propaganda at Rome, to Bishop Walsh; from Lord Shrewsbury to Bishop Walsh (v.pp.82-3); also from George Myers the mason, and Ambrose Phillipps, to Bishop Walsh. All concerning the work of Pugin.

A Letter from Pugin to Mr.Osmond, 1832, now at Salisbury Museum.

Twenty-six Letters, from Pugin to Edward James Willson. (1833 to 1839, with three later letters, 1841 to 1845). v.pp.40-43 above. Now in the Collection of the Johns Hopkins University, who have supplied photocopies.

Diaries:

The Diaries of A.W.Pugin, 1835 to 1851. (The Diaries for 1843 and 1846 are missing from the series). Business pocket diaries kept in Goldsmith's Almanack, fifteen volumes, now in the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, press nos.86 MM 54-63.

Additional Material: the following collections contain material invaluable in a study of Pugin:

RIBA Drawings, from the Drawings section of the RIBA Library. The Collection includes designs; cartoons for stained glass work; eight volumes of bound sketchbooks; one volume of photographs from sketches by Pugin; watercolours, possibly of stage designs; designs for furniture from c.1830; designs for the Petre Chantry at St.George's, Southwark, and the chapels at Maynooth and Oscott.

The Collection of Mrs.Watts, of Kidderminster (v.p.above, Letters from Pugin to John Hardman.) This Collection is extremely rich, containing

designs and cartoons for various projects; watercolours for stage-sets; many volumes of sketches and drawings by A.W.Pugin, and by his son-in-law, J.H.Powell; views of St.Augustine's at Ramsgate; first editions of Pugin's works; papers relating to the Pugin family in the nineteenth century, after Pugin's death.

The Library and Print Room of the Victoria and Albert Museum Library contain a large amount of Pugin material, in addition to the specific items cited above.

3. Critical and Biographical Works Which Directly Concern Pugin
(including some manuscript material)

Ferrey, Benjamin - Recollections of A.N.W.(sic)Pugin and His Father Augustus Pugin.(London, Stanford, 1861) With an Appendix by E.S.Purcell.

Gwynn, Denis R.- Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival.(London, Hollis and Carter, 1946)

Powell, John Hardman - Pugin in His Home: 'A Memory Offering to lay on the tomb of his Master Augustus Welby N.Pugin, whose example was noble and every word instruction, by his faithful pupil, John Hardman Powell, Sept. 14th. 1889'. A typescript from the original MS is now at the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, Box II 72 B.

Stanton, Phoebe B. - Welby Pugin and the Gothic Revival (University of London thesis for the degree of Ph.D., 1950)

do. - 'The Sources of Pugin's Contrasts'. (Summerson, J., ed. Concerning Architecture: Essays Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner, London, Allen Lane and the Penguin Press, 1968)

do. - Pugin.(Thames and Hudson, World of Art Series, London, 1971)

Trappes-Lomax, M. - Pugin, a Medieval Victorian.(London, Sheed and Ward, 1932)

Wyse, Winifrede M. - Personal Recollections of Augustus Welby Pugin. A manuscript written by the niece of Sir Thomas Wyse, who accompanied Charles Barry in his journey to Egypt. The Wyses, an Irish Catholic family, knew Pugin chiefly from his work and visits there. (The MS is a typescript in the Collection of Lady Alford - v.p.xii above -; the location of the original MS is unknown, but this copy is well authenticated)

Also of interest is the Sale Catalogue of Pugin's Library, of which a copy is retained at the RIBA Library, or v. Watkin, Sales Catalogues of Eminent Persons, Vol.4, pp.239-283.

4. Periodical Publications :

a) Contemporary :

The Builder - A Journal for the Architect, Engineer, Operative and Artist. (London)

Vol.X, No.492, July 10th.1852: 'The Position of Mr.A.W.Pugin' (a report on Pugin's mental illness and alleged poverty).

Vol.X, No.493, July 17th.1852: opens with an article following from the above.

Vol.X, No.494, July 24th.1852: similar passages.

Vol.X, No.503, Sept.25th.1852: a lengthy obituary by Talbot Bury.

(The Builder contains numerous other articles of general relevance to this thesis.)

The Catholic Magazine. (London; formerly the Edinburgh Catholic Magazine)

Pugin, A.W.: 'Lectures on Ecclesiastical Architecture' - v.Bibliography, section 1, p.vii-viii.

Vol.2, Nov.1838, p.691: an Address by the Students of St.Mary's College, Oscott, to Pugin; and his extemporaneous reply.

The Catholic - an Ecclesiastic and Literary Journal. (London)

Vol.1, July 30th.1842, pp.2-3: an article reprinted from l'Univers of July 24th., concerning the Oxford Movement.

- do., p.15: an Advertisement for a Print by A.W.Pugin of the 'new Church of St.Oswald's, Old Swan, nr.Liverpool' (Booker and Dolman).

Vol.1, Aug.6th.1842: a letter from A.L.Phillipps appealing for money for the Cistercian foundation of Mount St.Bernard.

- do.(p.56): the floating of St.Peter's, Woolwich, by donation, with a land grant from the government.

Vol.1, Aug.20th., 1842: further information on St.Peter's, Woolwich.

The Dublin Review. (London)

First Series, Vol.III, No.6, Oct.1837, Article IV: 'Pugin on Modern and Ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture' (pp.360-384); by Dr.N.Wiseman.

do.Vol.VIII, No.15, Feb.1840, Article VIII: 'The State and Prospects of Catholicity in England'; by Dr.N.Wiseman.

- do. Vol.X,No.20,May 1841,Article II: 'On the Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England'; by A.W.Pugin - v.Bibliography, section 1,p.viii.
- do. Vol.XII,No.23,Feb.1842,Article III: 'The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England'; by A.W.Pugin - v.preceding entry.
- do. Vol.XX,No.39,March 1846,Article III: 'Prayers for England,The Recent Conversions'; by Fr.Oakely.
- do. Vol.II,No.101,Feb.1862,Article IX: 'Pugin and Turner'; by Edmund Sheridan Purcell.

(The Dublin Review also contains many other articles of general relevance to this thesis.)

The Ecclesiologist.(London)

Vol.III,Aug.1844: A review of Pugin's Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume.(p.141ff.)

- do.: Comments on Pugin's restoration work at Pepper Harrow,the Chancel of St.Nicholas.

Vol.III,Sept.1844: an account of the new seal of the Cambridge Camden Society,designed by Pugin.(p.184)

Vol.IV,Jan.1846: 'The Artistic Merit of Mr.Pugin'.(pp.10-16)

Vol.VIII,July 1848: comments on a new R.C.church - Pugin's St.Joseph's at St.Peter Port.(p.399)

Vol.IX,Aug.1848: comment on the Rood Screens Controversy.(p.79)

Vol.IX,Dec.1848: comments on Pugin's work at Jesus College,Cambridge. (pp.146-7)

- do.: comments on the new R.C. churches,St.George's,Lambeth,(sic) and St.John's,Salford.(pp.151-64)

Vol.X,Nov.1849: 'Ecclesiastical Music'.(pp.208-217)

Vol.X,Feb.1850: 'Ecclesiastical Music'.(pp.342-9,a further article)

- do. : 'Pugin's Floriated Ornament'. (pp.324-6)

Vol.X,April 1850: 'Mr.Pugin and the Rambler'.(pp.393-9)

Vol.XII,Oct.1851: 'Ecclesiology in Cambridge'.(p.324)

Vol.XII,June 1851: 'The Ecclesiological Aspect of the Great Exhibition'.(pp.178ff.)

- do. : 'Mr.Pugin on Chancel Screens'.(pp.205-11)

Vol.XII,Dec.1851: 'Dr.Rock's Hierurgia'.

Vol.XIII,October 1852: an obituary,largely reprinted from the Morning Chronicle.(pp.352-7)

Vol.XIII, Aug. 1852: G.E.Street on stained glass.(pp.237ff.). From a Paper read at the anniversary meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society, June 1852.

- do. : 'The True Principles of Architecture and the Possibility of Development, a Paper Read before the Oxford Archaeological Society on February 18th. 1852 by G.E.Street, esq., Architect'.(pp.247-62)

The Ecclesiologist for the years 1841 to 1852 also contains many other articles, and much material, of interest to a study of Pugin and the medievalist movement.

The Eclectic Review.(London)

New Series, Vol.XXV, January 1849: 'The Literature of Gothic Architecture' (pp.33-50)

Fraser's Magazine.(London) March 1837: 'A Batch of Architects'.

The Rambler - A Journal of Home and Foreign Literature, Politics, Science, Music and the Fine Arts.(London)

Vol.1, Jan.15th.1848: Review of the Ecclesiologist for Dec.1847.(p.47)
Review of the Dublin Review.(p.51)

Vol.1, March 18th.1848: 'Gothic Architecture and Gregorian Music'.(p.245)

Vol.2, July 8th.1848: 'The Opening of St.George's Cathedral'.(pp.227-8)

Vol.2, Aug.19th.1848: 'The Opening of the Church of St.John the Evangelist, Salford'.(pp.375-7)

Vol.2, July 29th.1848: 'Rood Screens'.(pp.293-7). This article marked the beginning of the Rambler's involvement with the screens controversy.

Vol.2, Aug.12th.: 'The Revival of Rood Screens'.(pp.343ff.)

(The correspondence on this issue of screens continued for some months, until January 1849.)

Vol.3, Oct.1848: 'Will England Ever Be a Catholic Country'.(pp.81-9)

Vol.3, Nov.1848 (pp.212-222) and Dec.1848 (pp.285-9): further letters on the subject of screens.

Vol.4, May 1849: review of The Church of Our Fathers, by Daniel Rock, formerly chaplain to Lord Shrewsbury.(pp.45-8)

Vol.4, Aug.1849: 'English Art, its Weaknesses and its Strength'.(pp.233-6)

- do. : 'Mount St.Bernard, Charnwood, Leics.'. (p.280 - an account of an attempt to cast a slur on the monastery).

Vol.4, Oct.1849: 'Memoir of the Very Rev.Fr.Dominic'.(i.e.Barbieri; p.400)

Vol.5,Jan.1850: 'A Few Remarks on Gothic Ecclesiastical Building and its Cost,by W.W.Wardell.(With the subtitle,'Compared with the Roman and Nineteenth-Century Styles'; pp.57-61)

Vol.5,April 1850: 'Mr.Pugin and the Rambler'.(pp.367-75)

Vol.5,May 1850: 'Prospects of the Anglo-Catholic Party in the Established Church'.(pp.391-407)

Vol.7,April 1851: 'Anglo-Catholics in Theory and Fact'.(pp.310-3)

Vol.7,May 1851: 'Our Position and Policy'.(pp.371-82)

The True Tablet.(London)

Vol.1,No.3,March 12th.1842: A Review of the Dublin Review for 23rd. Feb.1842.

Vol.1,No.24,Aug.6th.1842: Account of the opening of St.Oswald's, Liverpool.

Weale's Quarterly Papers on Architecture.(London)

Vol.2,1844,7,'The Present Condition and Prospects of Architecture in England'.

Pugin also contributed to a spirited and controversial correspondence, occasioned by the publication of the first (1836) edition of his Contrasts,in the Wiltshire Herald and the Salisbury and Winchester Journal,in September 1836.

b) Critical Articles in Later Periodicals:

The Architectural Review.(London).

Waterhouse,Paul: 'The Life and Work of Welby Pugin'. In 1897-8:

Vol.III,Parts One(pp.167-75),Two(pp.211-21),and Three(pp.264-73).

Vol.IV,Parts Four(pp.23-6),Five(pp.67-72),Six(pp.115-8)and Seven(pp.159-64)

Sir Nikolaus Pevsner: 'A Short Pugin Florilegium'. Vol.93-4,Aug.1943, pp.31-4.

Piper,John: 'St.Marie's Grange,the First Home of A.W.N.Pugin'. Vol. 97-8,Oct.1945,pp.90-3.

Summerson,John: 'Pugin at Ramsgate'. Vol.103,April 1948,pp.163-6.

Stanton,Phoebe B.: 'Pugin at 21'. Vol.110,Sept.1951.

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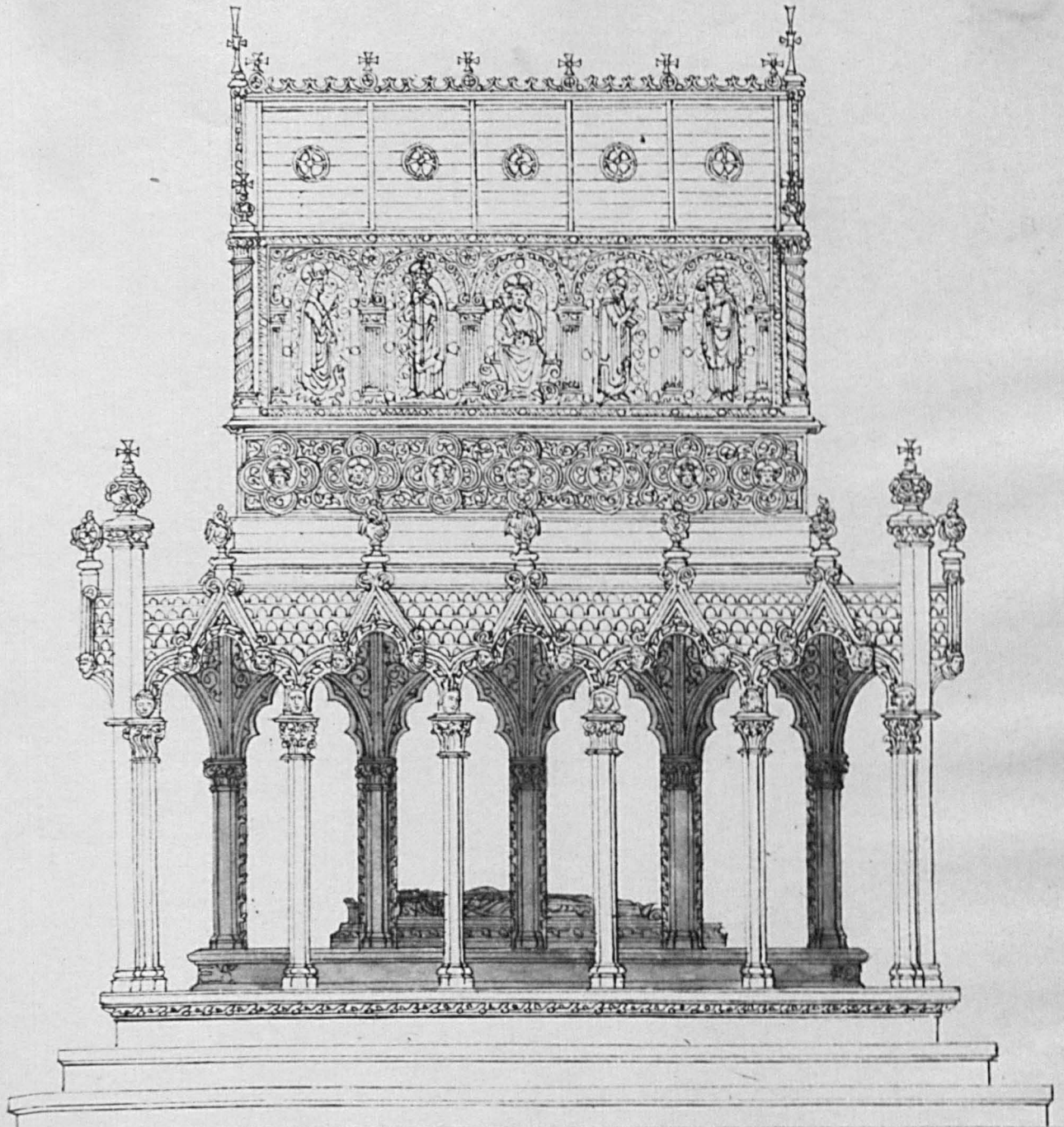
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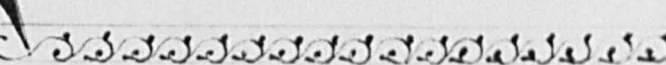







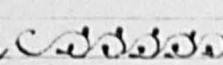

a) The Shrine (1832); Plate II, Title page. Black ink, illuminated.



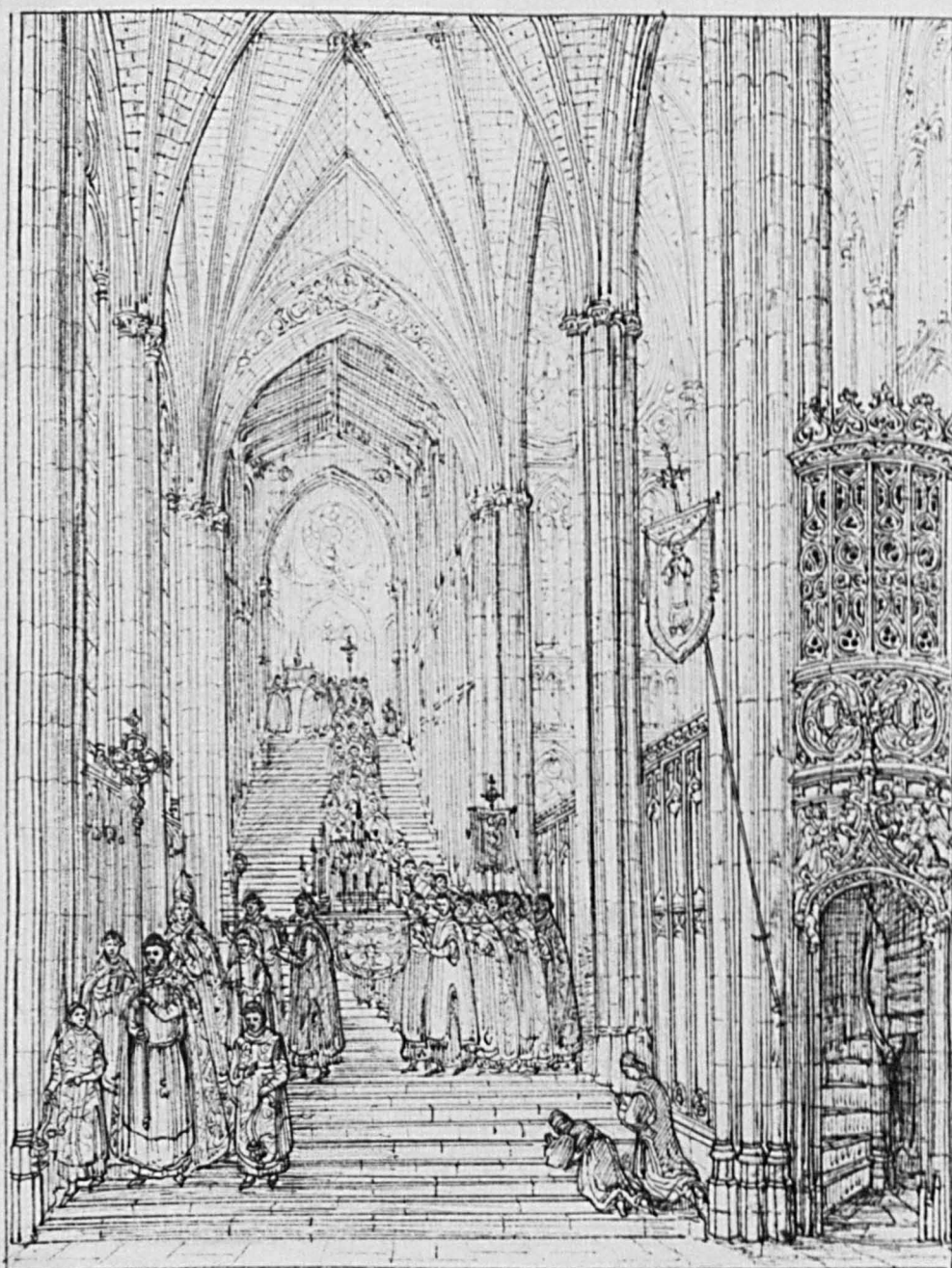
SIDE OF THE SHRINE

b) The Shrine (1832): Plate VI, 'The Side of the Shrine' (of St. Thomas of Canterbury). 'Medieval' in effect, but a fussy and poorly integrated design.

Hic sequitur catalogus
sanctarum reliquiarum
capsæ pertinentium

- H**eretrum  
- R**eliquiarium auratum cum gemmis 
- R**eliquiarium eburneum argento ornatum 
- B**aculum pastorale 
- C**ruc' Str' Edmundi 
- A**nnulus pontificalis 
- C**ruc' aurata cum gemmis 
- M**itra Stola Manipulum  

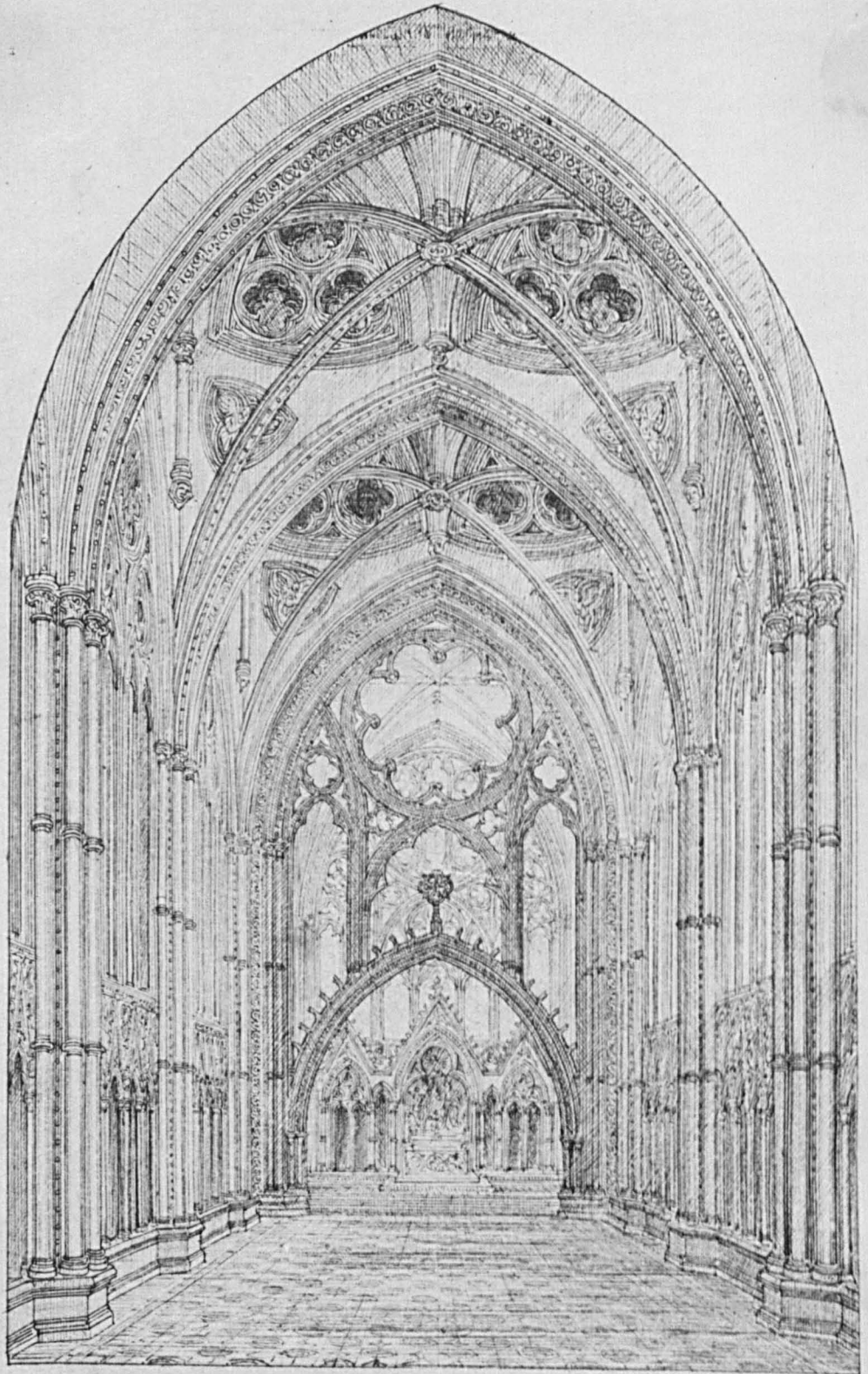
c) The Shrine (1832): Plate VIII, a Catalogue of the Holy Relics of the imaginary Shrine; the inclusion of such a list confirms the strong Catholic, as well as medieval, nature of this volume.



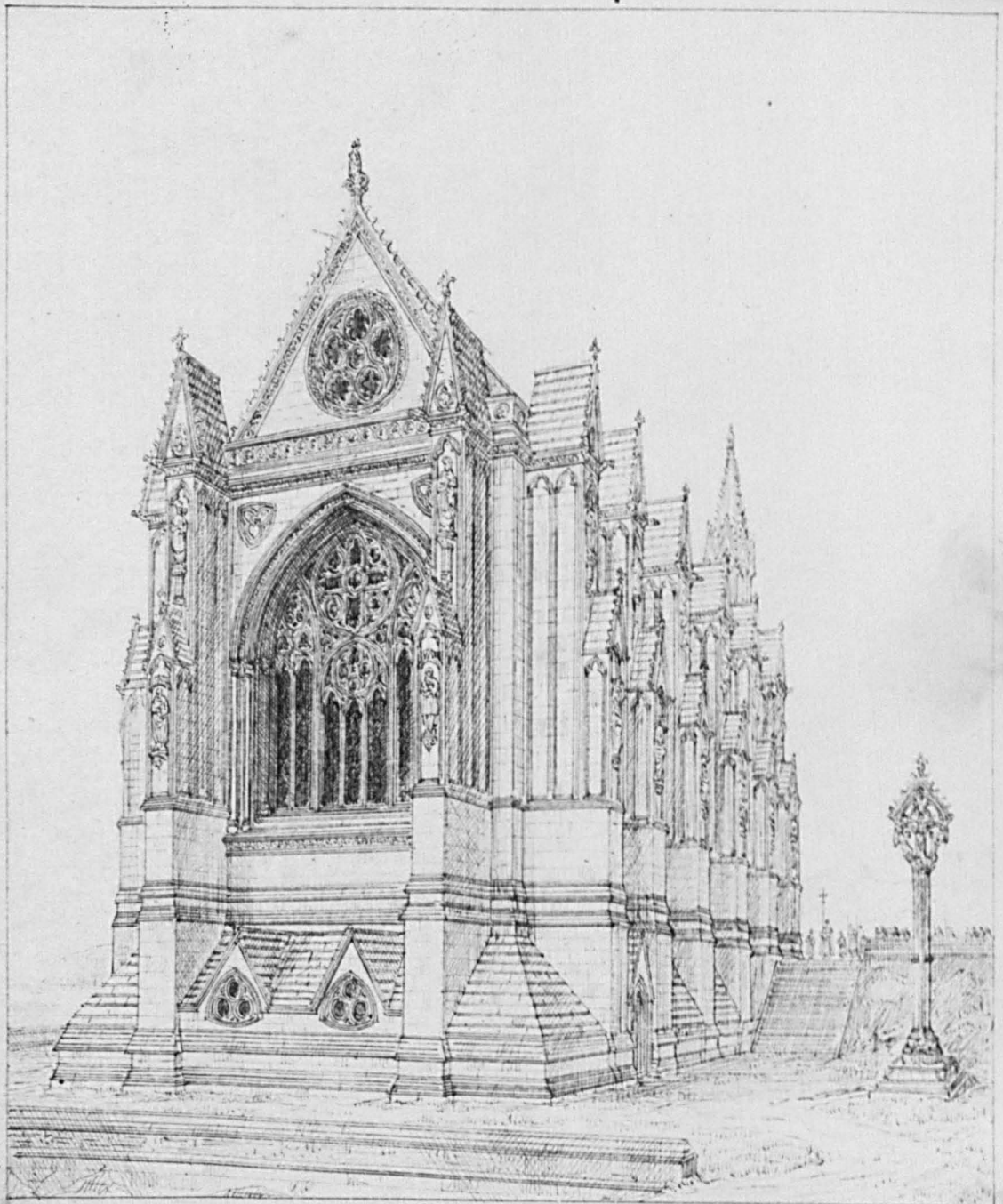
APUGIN

ST EDMUNDS PROCESSION

- d) The Shrine (1832): Plate XV, 'St. Edmund's Procession', demonstrating many of the relics, depicted elsewhere in the volume, in use. Pugin clearly felt, even at this early date, a strong fascination for the forms of Catholic medieval ceremonial.



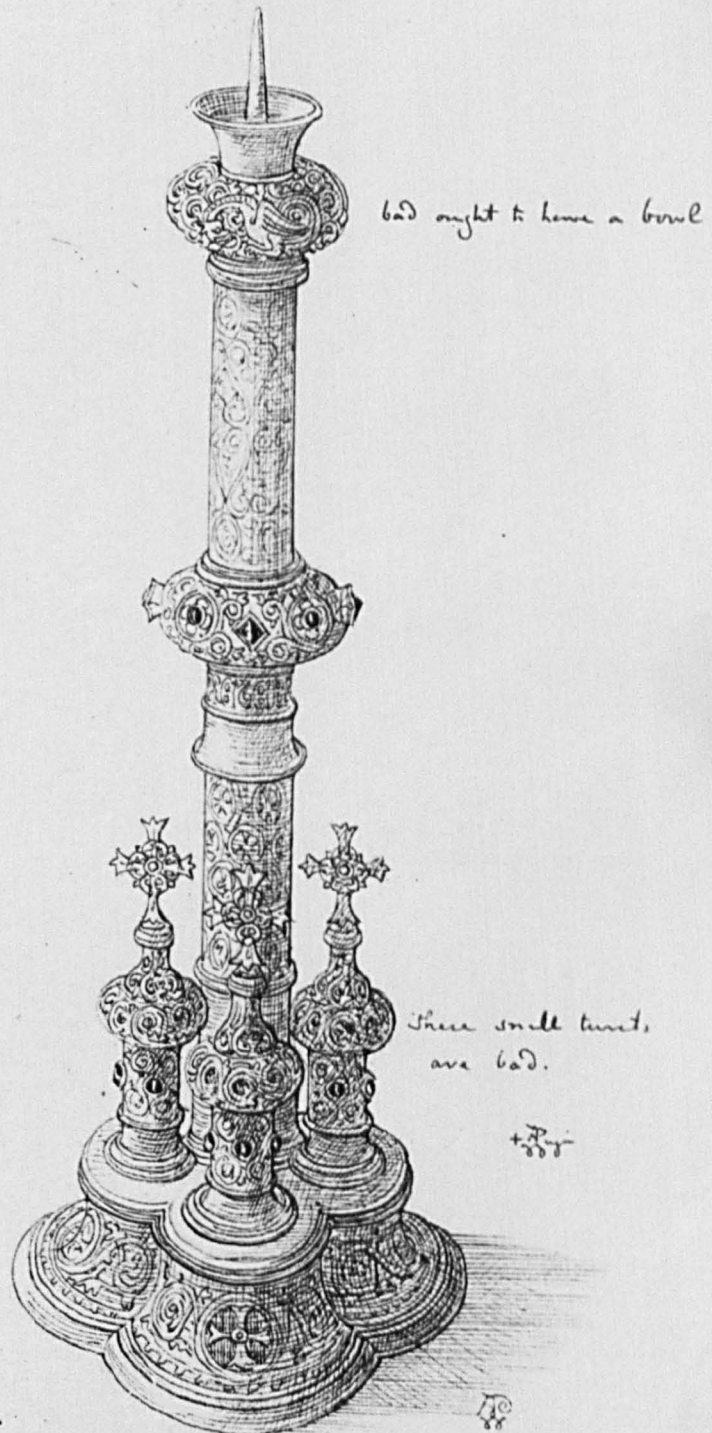
a) St. Margaret's Chapel (1833): Plate 17, an interior view of the Chapel; note the fanciful screen and the ill-contrived design of the roof vaulting.



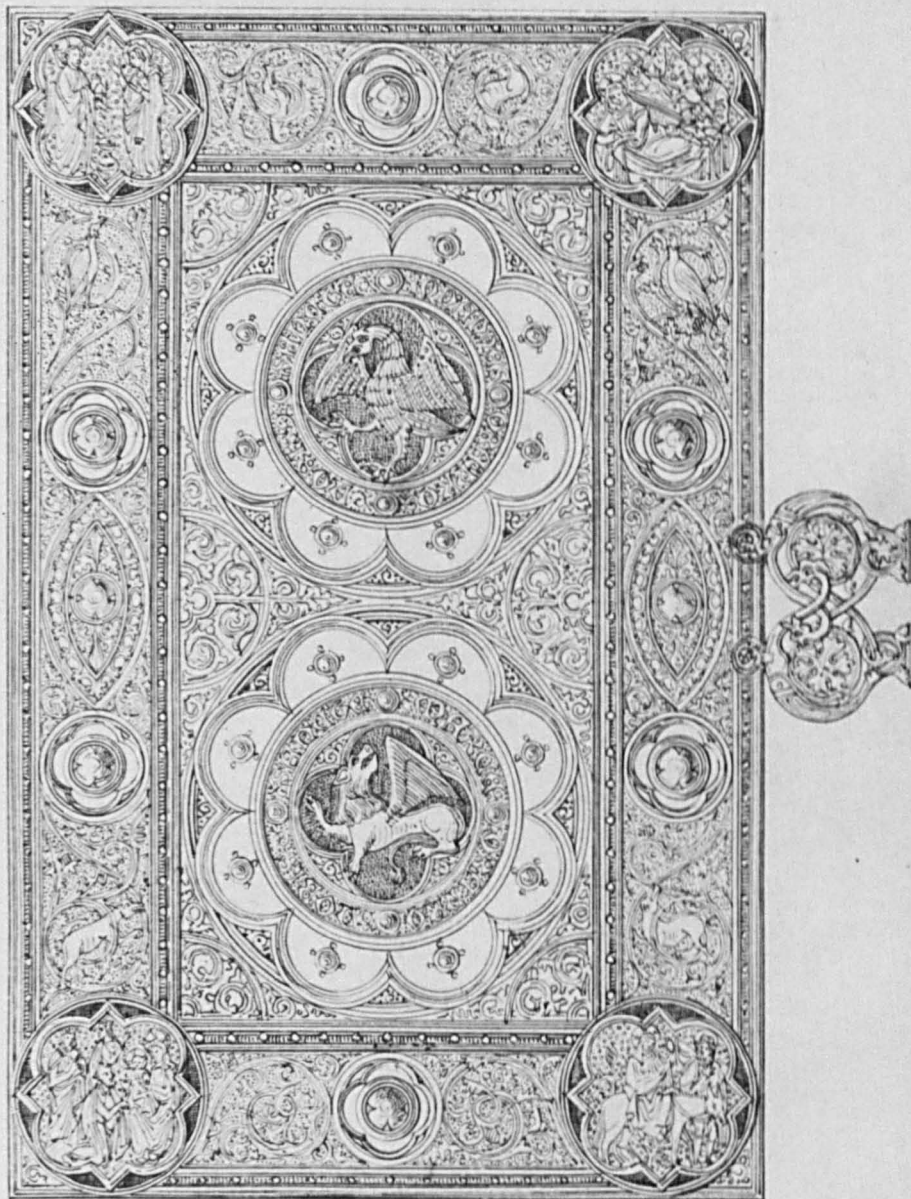
S.E. View

- b) St. Margaret's Chapel (1833): Plate 18, 'S.E. View'; Pugin's idiosyncratic use of Gothic forms is apparent in many aspects of this design. Though not the 'true thing', the effect is pleasing.

CANDELABRUM †



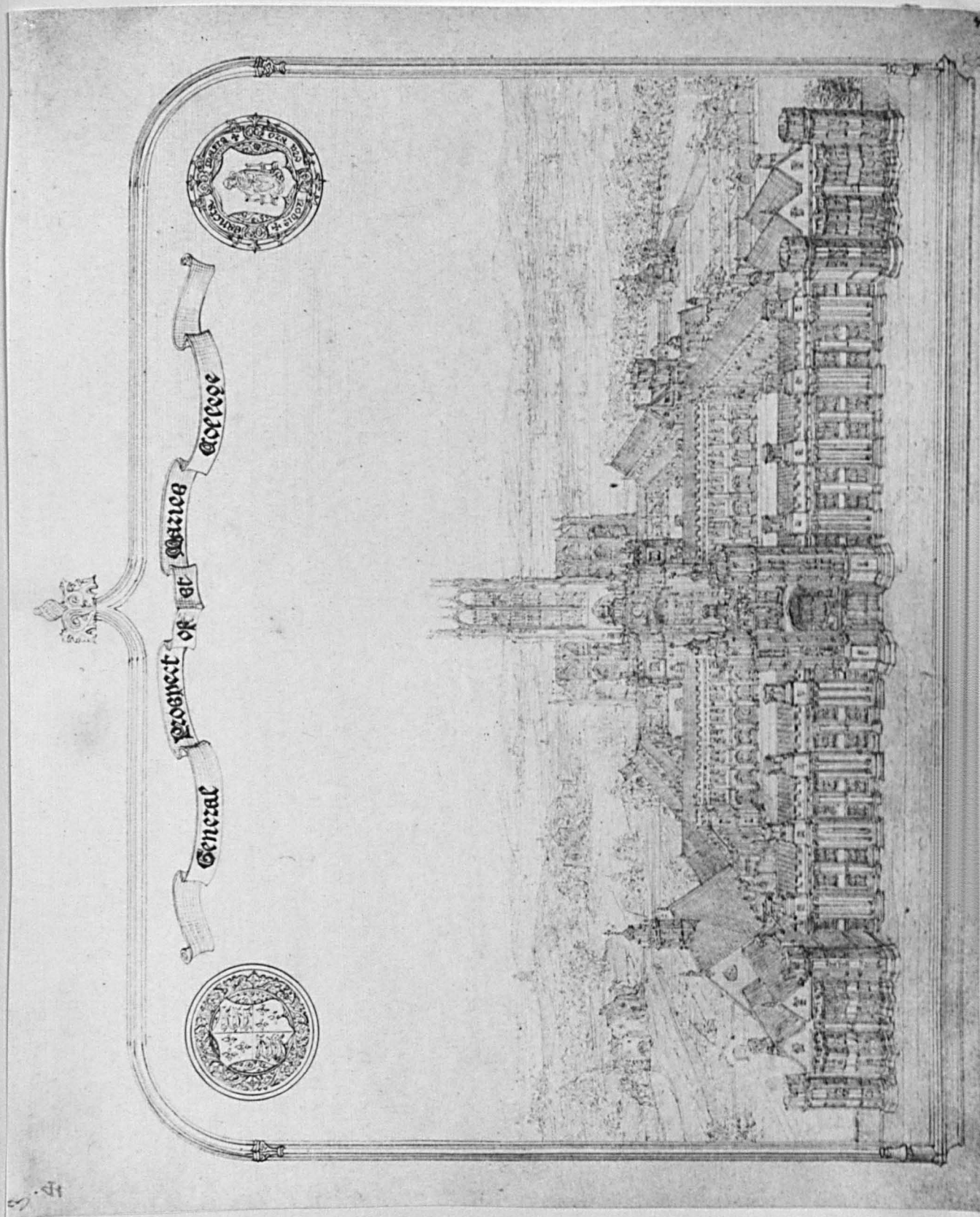
- c) St. Margaret's Chapel (1833): Plate 27, 'Candelabrum'; a graceless design, to which Pugin has added critical notes at a later date. As in the previous plate, he seems to have been striving for some measure of originality within the Gothic framework.



TEXTUS EVANGELIORUM ✠

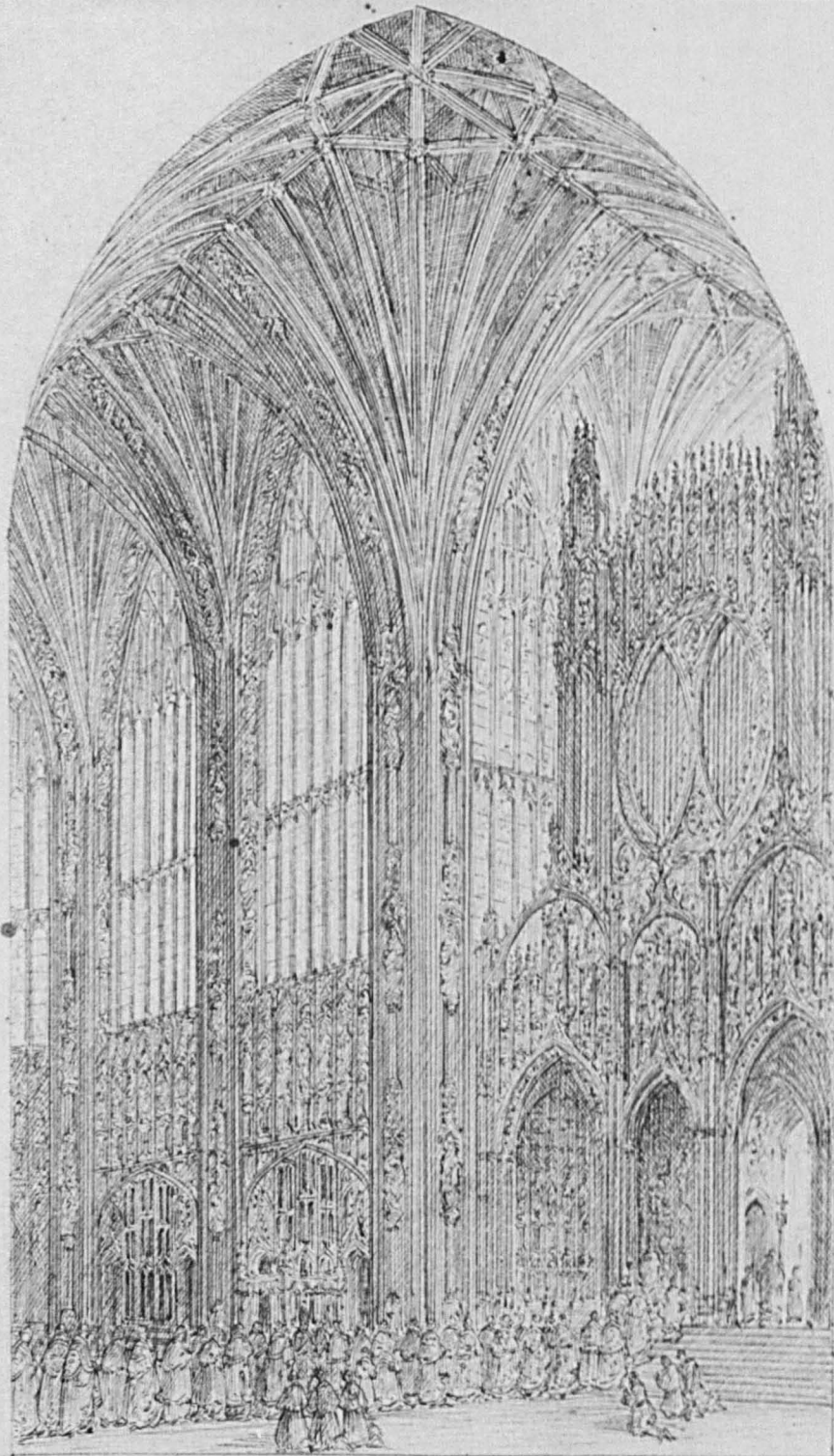
70

a) St. Margaret's Chapel (1833): Plate 33, 'Textus Evangeliorum'.



a) St. Marie's College (1834): Plate 4, 'General Prospect of St. Marie's College'; showing the grandness of Pugin's imaginary conception of a medieval collegiate institution. The religious (i.e. Catholic) nature of the College is shown by the towering chapel.

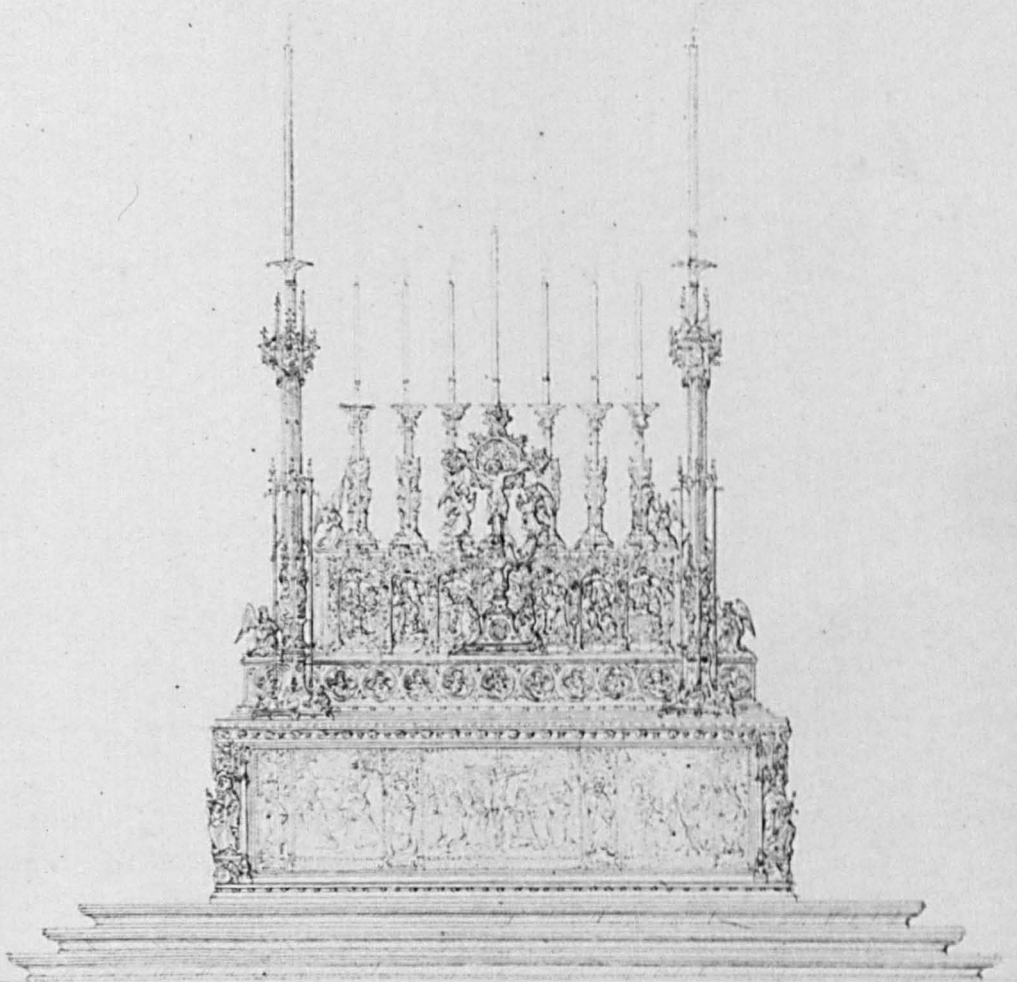
46.



view of organ screen and antichapel

- b) St. Marie's College (1834): Plate 46, 'View of Organ Screen and Antechapel'; the two keynotes of the drawing are splendour and sanctity, and more maturity is displayed in the design than in the plates of Illustrations 1 and 2.

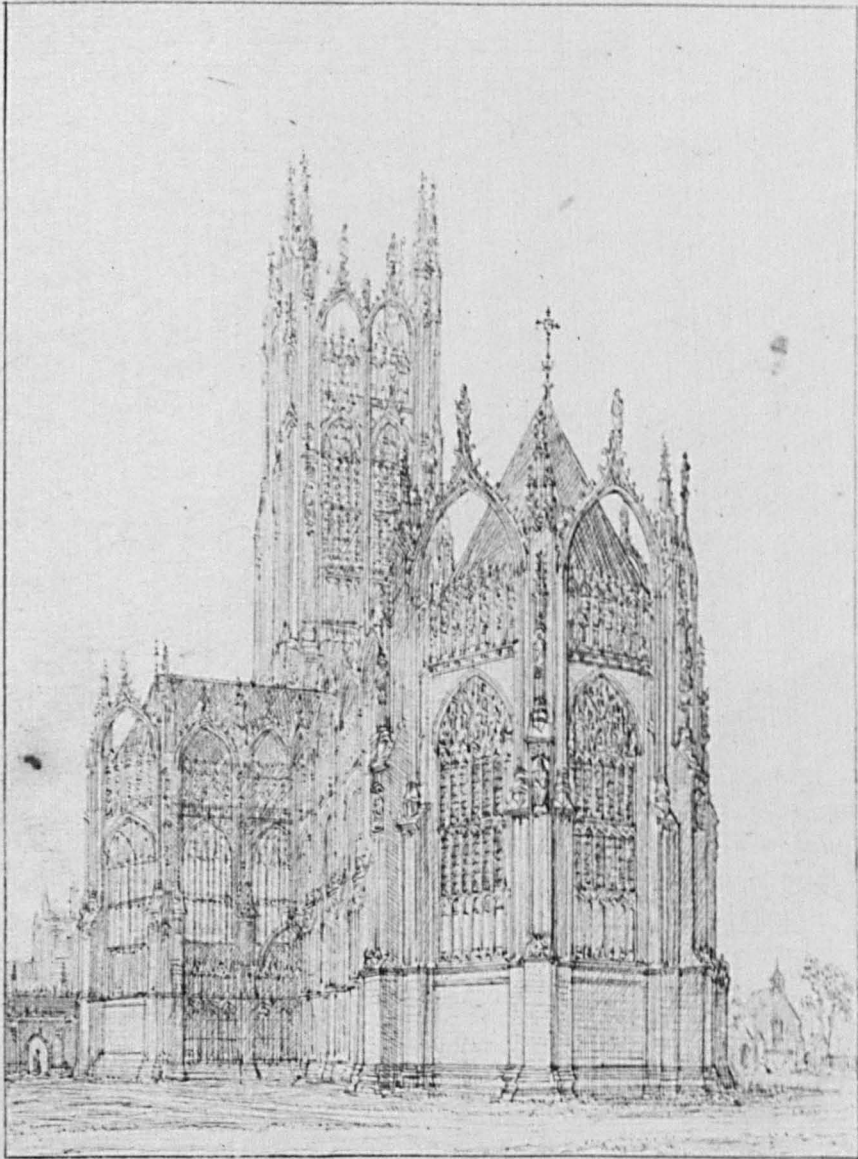
49.



The
High Altar

- c) St. Marie's College (1834): Plate 49, 'The High Altar'. Pugin's concern for liturgical stringency had not yet developed, as this design for an altar shows. There is a baroque element in the profusion of detail here.

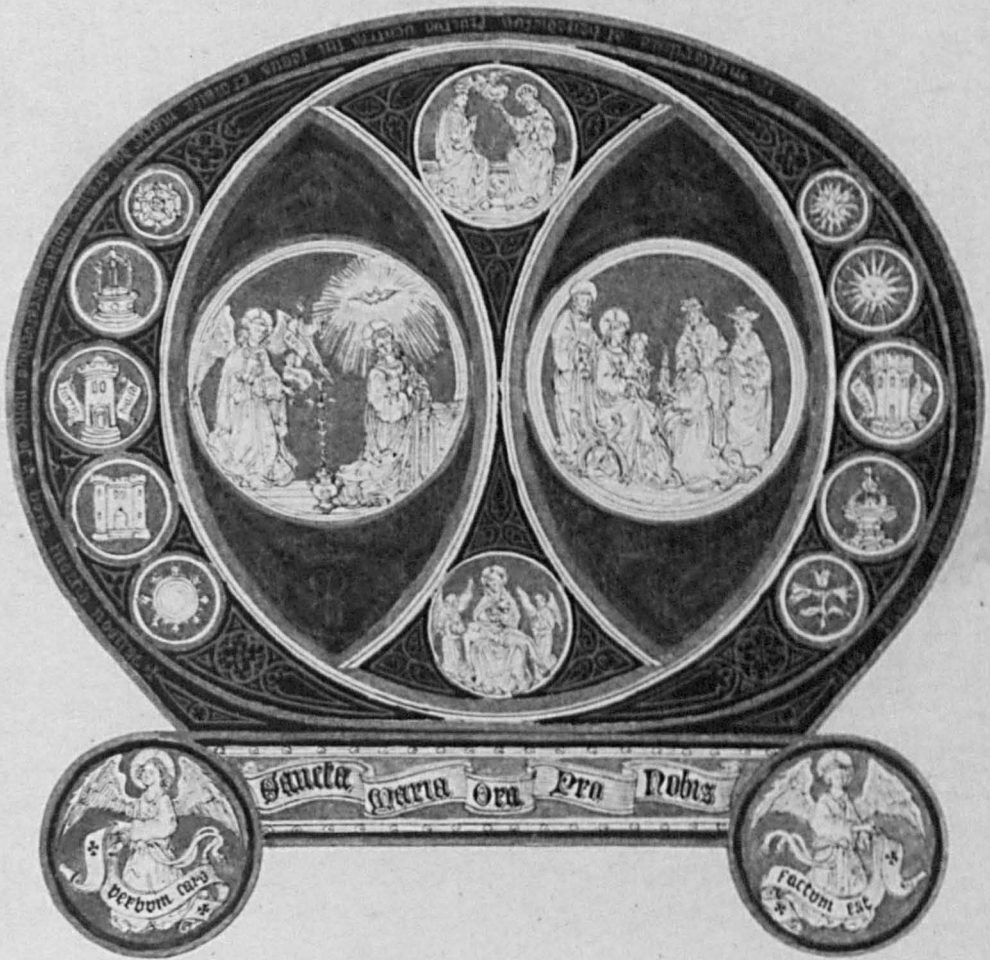
62.



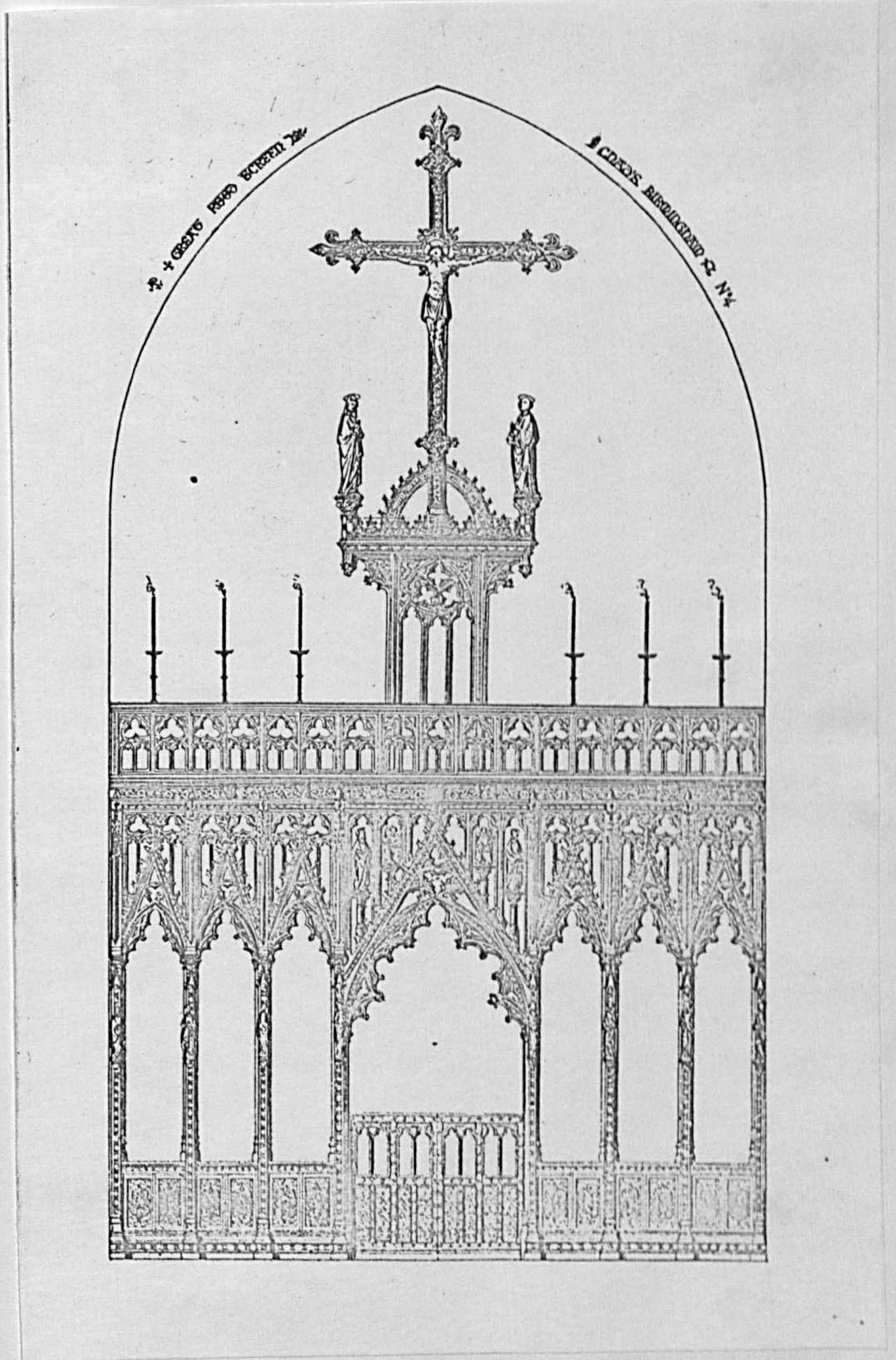
view of the chapel from the east end

- d) St. Marie's College (1834): 'View of the Chapel from the East End'.
 The strange arches between the pinnacles, and on the tower, create a bizarre effect reminiscent of the earlier MS volumes (v. Illustrations 1 and 2 above), but the overall design is impressive.

64.



e) St. Marie's College (1834): Plate 64, the end-plate. The images here are overtly Catholic, as are the inscriptions. The volume must date from around the time of Pugin's conversion, possibly even from after it.



From The Present State (1843): facing page 78, 'Great Rood Screen, St. Chad's, Birmingham'. A typical Pugin design for a rood screen in a large church.